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Grover Cleveland is defeated; and a protectionist president, with a protectionist congress in full sympathy with him, will control our national affairs for at least the next two years. No honest measure of tariff reform will be passed for the next four years.

Whatever may be the just disappointment and chagrin of tariff reformers, as distinct from free traders, those who believe that absolute free trade and direct taxation are not merely desirable, but practicable measures, in the not distant future, have no reason to feel any other sense of disappointment than such as they ought to feel out of personal sympathy with a man who has deliberately and consciously risked his whole political future, to the advantage of tariff reformers, as compared with free traders, those who believe that the abolition of indirect taxation is an issue ten times as important as that of its mere reduction, the re-election of Cleveland would have done nothing more than indicate a healthful tendency in American political thought. But this tendency is just as plainly marked under the circumstances of Cleveland's defeat. The chief obstacle to progress has always been supposed to consist in the hostility of mechanics and artisans, engaged in the so-called protected industries, to everything which savored of free trade. But while Cleveland and the cause of tariff reform have been defeated in this election, this defeat is due entirely to the votes of farmers and farmer laborers. The workers engaged in protected industries have given a much larger proportion of their votes than ever before against the whole protective system. It is altogether probable that a majority of these men, for whose sake, professedly, the whole tariff system is kept up, have voted for Cleveland. It is quite certain that he has made large gains everywhere amongst them, as compared with the vote in 1884, and enormous gains, as compared with the vote in 1880, when the protective system was, for the first time since the war, made a distinct issue.

Thus, in spite of the immense trading of votes, by which Cleveland was sacrificed in the cities of New York and Brooklyn, by the special friends of Hill and Grant, which could not possibly have amounted to less than an average of ten votes at each poll, making a difference of at least 25,000 in the majority, Cleveland has a majority of 68,000 in those two cities, which constitute the largest manufacturing district in the Union; and he has especially gained in those sections in which factory workmen live. So he has gained largely in Newark, which is a typical manufacturing city; being the first democratic candidate for president who has carried Newark since the beginning of the war. He has doubled the usual majority in Elizabeth, which is exclusively devoted to manufactures. He has reduced the usual republican majority of 2,000 in Providence to less than 500; he has gained largely in such manufacturing centers as Lowell, Lawrence, Fall River, Worcester, Bridgeport, Meriden, Waterbury, and the numerous factory villages of eastern Connecticut. He has reduced the majority in Philadelphia by 12,000. He has gained largely in the manufacturing districts of Ohio; and he has carried Chicago by 4,000 majority; although it has always given a large majority the other way at each preceding presidential election.

This great gain is the result of the constant discussion of protection and free trade, which has been going on during the last three or four years within labor organizations. Wherever the tariff issue has been boldly handled by Cleveland's supporters, they have gained largely among mechanics and artisans. They have lost ground among farmers, especially in New York state; because no real effort has been made to instruct the farmers at this election, and the immense corruption fund at the disposal of the republicans has been used with successful

effect in the interior. But votes which are bought for one election do not remain bought for the next; and, with a little more attention paid to the education of the farmers, they cannot be permanently deceived on such a plain issue as to their own interest. In any event, the hardest part of the work has been done. The vote of workmen in the cities and towns has been gained. This was precisely the vote which was considered by timid democratic politicians the most hopeless; and now that they see their mistake, they will not be so absurd as to hinder the discussion of this issue before the farmers, as they have, in the past, hindered its discussion before mechanics.

Looking to the future, even apart from any question of education, there is obviously no reason whatever for discouragement. The concentration of the whole power of the democratic party in favor of a reduction in the tariff is of itself a permanent gain; for past history shows that it is impossible for the republican party to retain control of both branches of congress for long together. Even their victory in 1880, which promised far more than their victory in 1888 (since that succeeded, not merely in defeating, but in disrupting the democratic party, and dividing its councils on the tariff issue) did not suffice to keep them in control of the house of representatives for more than two years. The republicans have had a majority in the house for over two years out of the last fourteen. Even if nothing unusual should happen during the next two years, the chances are all in favor of a protectionist defeat in 1890. But that defeat is especially sure to come, because of the inevitable course of events meantime. If nothing is done with the surplus, the surplus will continue to roll up and will become a greater danger than ever. The republican party is now pledged to dispose of the surplus by extravagant expenditures, including the payment of pensions to every discharged soldier who is willing to say that he cannot live comfortably without one; the distribution of \$70,000,000 among the states, under the Blair education bill; the squandering of money on forts which will hold no guns and ships which will not sail, as well as in subsidies to hire steamships to sail without cargoes. If the party carries out the pledges distinctly made by its platform and its president, it will dispose of the whole surplus before 1892 and leave an enormous deficiency, even without any reduction in the tariff. But, as it is also pledged to the abolition of the tobacco tax and a reduction of the whisky tax, the deficiency, in case all these pledges are carried out, would be so appalling that the party would be compelled to impose new taxes upon a large scale. It will not be in its power to make such a moderate reduction of taxation and moderate increase of expenditure as will simply balance accounts. It has carried this election more by means of the bribe offered to a million applicants for pensions than by any other means, except the corrupt expenditure of money. It must fulfill its promise to these voters. President Harrison does not, even if he would, veto a single pension bill. The annual burden of pensions, which now amounts to over \$80,000,000, will soon run up to \$150,000,000; and this alone would destroy any surplus. In 1893, the republican party will have to face the people with the fact that a democratic administration left an overflowing treasury, which a republican administration has managed to empty in less than two years.

It may be thought that this would constitute a new reason for keeping up the tariff. But the tariff can be reduced either so as to increase the revenue or to diminish it. The democrats have offered in the Mills bill a measure, which, by enlarging the free list, would reduce the revenue. They can easily change the form of their next bill so as to increase it; and at the same time they can as easily frame that bill so that, while it increases the revenue of the government, it shall diminish the revenue of protected manufacturers. Unless, therefore, the democrats make the mistake of putting up some candidate for whom no reform can afford to vote, they are almost certain to sweep the country both in 1890 and 1892. But, considered from a merely party point of view, there will be one serious drawback to their success. Several new states will have been admitted meantime, all of which will elect republican senators; and this addition to the republican strength will secure a republican majority in the senate until 1894. It may well be, therefore, that no measure of real tariff reform can succeed until after the congressional election of 1894.

From the point of view of one who wants to reform the tariff and yet to save it, this outlook may be discouraging. But to those of us who wish to destroy the tariff altogether, and even to those who, while not prepared to go so far, yet desire to obliterate every remnant of protection from it, there is nothing discouraging in this prospect. We could not possibly expect to accomplish either of these results until after the presidential election of 1896. The longer our opponents can prevent the adoption of a measure of

moderate reform, the more certain is the ultimate and reasonably early adoption of a radical reform. It would not do for those of us who are radicals to vote against propositions of immediate reform; because, by doing so, we should hinder the education of the people. But if our enemies choose to play into our hands in this matter, let us not be so foolish as to fail to see that they are playing our game more effectually than we could do it ourselves. Nothing would serve our cause more effectually than a doubling of the present tariff. The reason why the cause of radical reform has made such slow progress is that the ultraists on the other side have not been allowed to have their own way. If they could have obtained full license, they would have settled the question in our favor long ago; because their Chinese policy would have brought such destruction to the leading interests of the country as to lead to an instant and universal revolt.

These are not mere theories; they have been proved by long experience. In Great Britain, the moderate reduction of the tariff which took place between 1825 and 1830, and which was then denounced as "free trade," was so small as to bring substantially no relief to the British people; while it was considered at the time so large that not the slightest step forward was made for the next fifteen years. In 1846, when the Corn laws were substantially repealed and a further general reduction of duties was made, there was still so much left of the protective system that the progress of the country was greatly hindered; while it was seven years before the next great step forward was taken, and fourteen years elapsed before the last shred of protection was taken away. And it is a notable fact that the development of British commerce between 1860 and 1872 was immensely more rapid than anything which had taken place between 1846 and 1860.

In America. The very moderate and cautious reduction of duties which took place under the compromise tariff of 1833 never produced anything like the benefit which was the manifest result of the much broader and more radical tariff of 1846. Even that measure and the still lower tariff of 1857 retained to the last so many protective features as to keep alive the progress of the country was greatly hindered; while it was seven years before the next great step forward was taken, and fourteen years elapsed before the last shred of protection was taken away. And it is a notable fact that the development of British commerce between 1860 and 1872 was immensely more rapid than anything which had taken place between 1846 and 1860.

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We, who believe in direct taxation and in the entire removal of burdens from the shoulders of labor, have abundant warning in these precedents against any excessive eagerness for the adoption of moderate reforms. We must assist with all our might those who advocate these reforms; because that is the only way in which we can educate the people into a sense of the necessity for larger ones. But when, without any fault or complicity on our part, these small reforms are defeated, we have gained everything which is of importance to us—the education—and we have lost only that which might well be a hindrance to us—the mistaken contentment, under which the people might be disposed to rest and be thankful on account of a partial reform. Every vigorous struggle for reform, no matter how small, when accompanied by this temporary defeat, educates and enlightens the people, and yet leaves them more discontented than they were at the beginning. It is in this healthy and righteous discontent that our ideal takes root; and a stupid, mistaken content is the only enemy which we have to fear. For our cause, therefore, there is nothing whatever discouraging in the result of the presidential election; but, on the contrary, we have made a much greater gain than we could reasonably have expected; and we have lost ground only among those classes whose self-interest is so emphatically on our side that they cannot fail soon to find it out. The farmers must be taxed almost to death, before they can open their eyes; but the process is going on, and, when they find their markets shrinking and their expenses increasing, they will call for a change with an emphasis proportionate to their present ignorance and delusion.

Meanwhile, it is our duty to go on with the work of education, after giving to the people a little time to rest after the excitement of election, with the assurance that half of our battle is won already, and that our worst enemies are doing the best service for our cause.

THOMAS G. SHEARMAN.

The Whitman Club.

WHITMAN, Mass., Nov. 19.—Our single tax club is making encouraging progress. We meet every Wednesday evening, and invite the public to come and debate questions pertaining to the single tax. We challenged the republicans to debate, but they refused to meet us. E. M. White will send you \$1, for which please send us single tax tracts.

JOHN H. FINN,
Secretary Single Tax Club.

MRS. FLANAGAN'S BABY.

Shirley Dare's Good Advice in the Columns of the "Press"—How the Baby Should be Clothed, Treated and Fed.

Now that it has recovered from the worry and stress of the campaign, the press is able to pay attention to minor every day matters once again. It still keeps its wonderful "tariff talks" going, and still has dreadful argumentative spells, trying to persuade the working man that by paying \$10 for a \$6 suit of clothes he is somehow putting money in his purse. These things, however, are no longer the chief business of its life, but only diversions by the way—little "breathers," so to speak, such as an athlete takes to maintain his form. The country, the press is well assured, is safely committed to protection for a while at least, and subjects not strictly economic may now be discussed without danger.

Having taught the American working man how to secure the comforts of a home by being satisfied to live in a tenement house, and an ample steady income by inviting pauper competition, the press now goes a step farther and gives the working man some good advice about the management of his family. "Beautiful Children" is the title of a lengthy article by Shirley Dare in its issue of last Sunday, whose object is to instruct the happy fathers and mothers of the latest arrived American babies just how they must treat the little strangers to secure them the blessing of perfect health. As for wealth and wisdom, those of course are guaranteed to all students of the press's economic teachings *ipso facto*.

"The first night of a baby or a child," Shirley tells us, "is to be comfortable. The little thing with delicate skin and heart and lungs, must be warm, not by thermometer, but by actual feeling. I do not find one baby's hand out of a dozen actually warm as it should be. The nurses or the careless mothers, active and stirring, are warm enough, and they run that under the tax-me-rich dispensation she is guaranteed big wages, a comfortable home and the height of fine living generally. And being guaranteed them of course she has them. The foul-smelling tenement in which Mrs. Flanagan thinks she lives, exists only in her imagination. So do the scanty earnings, the unwholesome food, and all the other miseries she thinks she suffers from. The real trouble with Mrs. Flanagan is, that she doesn't realize her blessings."

CLEVELAND.
Above the sordid plane of groveling minds, Whose selfish clamer, ever mingled with The murmur of a threatened mutiny; Undaunted by the knowledge that his course Might bring the triumph of his enemies. He raised the standard of a righteous cause And forced the wakening issue of the hour.

The taunts of those who mocked him as task.

Who by ignoble ends have compassed his defeat.

Do but attest the lofty courage of the man, Illumined in the earnest lesson of his age, And make more close the goal he has attained.

Unmoved by failure or success, and crown him Victor still.

EUGENE MASON EDWARDS.

Old Town, Me., November 15.

Good Work in a Small State.

PAWTUCKET, R. I., Nov. 18.—We of this state have returned to the fight with renewed vigor, not with any spirit of retaliation but with a persistent determination to spread the light of our principles, believing they will prevail.

For this end we have organized a state organization in Providence, making it a center from which to spread and encourage the work in other towns and cities.

What is particularly requested is that all single tax men throughout the state should become acquainted with each other, and it is to be hoped all who will attend a meeting to be held in room 9, 129 Westminster St., Providence, Friday, Nov. 22, when ways and means will be discussed. Pawtucket is still to the fore, having arranged for discussions with prominent literary associations.

EDWARD BARKER.

Workingmen and Clergymen.

NEW YORK.—I am an old reader of your valuable paper, a free trader and single tax man, but THE STANDARD of Nov. 17 has given me something to think about after reading the open letter to the clergymen of Toronto. If was not so poor a man I would send some money to have that paper sent to all the clergymen of all denominations in this state. There is a something in that letter which ought to bring them to a realization of the fact that they only preach for the rich.

It is not cant we workmen want; it is the truth we seek; and we will go out of our way to hear it. It would surprise some of our divines to find what interest we workmen take in the truth.

JOHN H. ROBINSON.

The Election Was Over and So They Got Discharged.

The workingmen of the Hall safe and lock company of Cincinnati voted for Harrison and protection upon the kindly advice of their employers that it was to their (the workingmen's of course) interest to do so. Within a week they received notice that their wages would be reduced by from fifteen to thirty per cent. They naturally remonstrated that such treatment was altogether inconsistent with protection's victory; and for their presumption in questioning the prerogatives of their masters they were summarily dismissed. The election was over!

The Tariff is Working Along the Monongahela.

The news is telegraphed from Mr. Carnegie's town that all the coal mine operators of the Monongahela region have determined to shut down for an indefinite period, and that 7,000 men willing and anxious to work will be denied that privilege. There is a tariff of seventy-five cents per ton on coal, which enables the operators to arbitrarily raise the price of coal and leave the miner no coal to dig and no wages, and the operator makes most money when the operative makes none.

That Means Corporation Government.

Washington Capital.

Next to President-elect Harrison Mr. Chauncey M. Depew is to-day the biggest man in the republican party.

whole meal bread. Strict yet comfortable regimen for the nursing mother simply does away with the disgraces of babyhood. You can just as fond of a plump baby with almond bloom color and dewy dark eyes, not dry mouth, full of vim and frolic as if he went by springs, that does not smell of pap or paregoric or indigestion. Such a flowery, kissable baby is a decoration to life, and such all babies ought to be, barring accident. They are like the rest of mortals—cross if they can't get the right sort of dinners to suit them.

Simple rules, aren't they? What an unnatural brute the nursing washerwoman must be who doesn't bereave take in at least two loaves of entire wheat bread every day, and confine herself to a simple, nourishing diet, resisting her natural longing for pate de foie gras and dinners at the Brunswick table d'hote (price \$1.50, without wine).

But suppose the washerwoman cannot nurse her baby? Well, Shirley is prepared for that contingency. Let her feed the little one on asses' milk:

This above all things is the substitute for natural food, far better than cows' milk because containing less casein or curd and more delicately nutritive. Its use would save many weak, perishing infants, deprived of their mothers, and it is recommended for consumptives.

This milk should be boiled in a water bath twenty minutes to prevent fermentation; and if Mrs. Flanagan has any doubt about its absolute purity, she is to add a teaspoonful of cream to it to make sure it is rich enough.

Now, Mrs. Flanagan knows all about it. It will be her own fault if her little darling catches cold this winter, or fades away with summer complaint in the heated term of '89. To be sure, Mrs. F. may say that she can't afford asses' milk, or afternoon siestas, or entire wheat bread, or any of the other things Shirley Dare says are necessary to salvation. But that is manifestly no excuse. For any protectionist orator will accuse her that under the tax-me-rich dispensation she is guaranteed big wages, a comfortable home and the height of fine living generally. And being guaranteed them of course she has them. The foul-smelling tenement in which Mrs. Flanagan thinks she lives, exists only in her imagination. So do the scanty earnings, the unwholesome food, and all the other miseries she thinks she suffers from. The real trouble with Mrs. Flanagan is, that she doesn't realize her blessings.

CLEVELAND.
I do not make this quotation at this time, seeking to hold General Harrison responsible for the liquor dealers or their organization. I make it solely to show the *ways* of the liquor dealers themselves. They not only believe that the saloon is the dominant factor in politics, but point to the success of the dominant party in the state of New York, of Tammany hall in the city of New York, to the opposition to Mayor Francis in the city of St. Louis, and to the election of General Harrison, as conclusive evidence, amounting to demonstration, of the controlling power of the saloon in politics.

Whether the saloon is so powerful as the liquor dealers themselves claim, is a question of doubt. That the cause of the saloon has this year scored a great victory is involved in no doubt whatever. We are forced to ask how such a thing is possible, and we find the answer in the conditions, not only of our social, but of our political life. The liquor manufacturers and distributors would be powerless were it not that they find the community ready to submit to their dictation; satisfied with a low and degrading political morality, and with a machinery of elections which not only permits, but places a premium on bribery. When the liquor dealers are able to merge all of their differences in a common effort to control administration or legislation to advance their own business interests, they need only, under the existing conditions, to find sufficient money to buy the votes of the tributary community, in order to carry their point.

THE IMPENDING RUM.

The use of money in elections to the extent of millions of dollars, is of itself a fact so startling as to altogether discredit the dream of successful democracy; but when these

ions of money invested in such bar fixtures control 4,710 such centers. If this handful of men agree upon a given policy they can at once convert these 4,710 places in the city of New York into very hives of political agitation, controlling and directing the most corrupt, the most degrading and the most ignorant portion of our community; massing them into companies and driving them to the polls like cattle. To do this, however, requires the expenditure of money, and is predicated upon the existence of election machinery which supplies no proper check to bribery.

PLenty OF MONEY TO BE HAD.

In such a cause as that of the liquor dealer, the raising of money is not difficult. During the past election there was a meeting of the brewers, at which a committee was appointed with power to levy an assessment upon all brewers of one cent per keg, or \$10 per thousand kegs upon their last year's output. It was estimated that this sum, which was the result of but a light and not burdensome tax, would amount to not less than \$50,000, and the money was to be used in attempting to carry two or three districts in New Jersey, so as to secure a repeal of the high license bill passed by the last legislature in that state and to guarantee the election of Governor Hill in our own state. This was apart from the voluntary contribution of the brewers, and had no reference whatever to the amounts to be collected from the dispensers of distilled liquors.

The figures quoted from Mr. Graham show how vast and concentrated the interest is. The figures relative to brewers' assessments, show how easy it is to raise funds to secure the permanency and stability of these interests.

THOSE BLOCKS OF FIVE.

On the same day on which I received Mr. Graham's pamphlet, I took up the *New York Evening World*. On the first page it contained a facsimile of the famous Dudley letter, in which General Dudley advises his correspondence to "divide the floaters into blocks of fives, put a trusted man with necessary funds in charge of each of these five, and make him responsible for no one gets away and that all vote our ticket." Here is a new device for simplifying and organizing bribery. The suggestion to divide floaters into blocks of fives and to put a trusted man with necessary funds in charge of each of those lives, would go for nothing if the necessary funds were not first placed in the hands of the trusted men. But where are the necessary funds to come from? Where the interests of the liquor dealers are at stake, I have already shown you how the funds can be raised.

Where the interests of the monopolists are at stake, the funds are raised with equal facility. On the same page of the newspaper on which I found the facsimile of General Dudley's letter, and in an adjoining column, I found the following interview with Mr. Jay Gould: "Four years ago I was an enthusiastic Blaine man. I was called upon by three local republican leaders, and on the statement that money would insure Blaine's election, I gave to them \$50,000." Mr. Gould, it would appear, subscribed quite voluntarily in 1884, but "the fat" was not tried out of him in 1888, as proves to have been done to many of our manufacturers, if we consider the success of the remarkable appeal for money with which Mr. Foster has enriched our political literature.

THE BUSINESS OF POLITICS.

As the liquor dealers and the monopolists find little difficulty in raising money, both raising it to protect their interests, so the practical politician finds but little difficulty in raising money for a like purpose. As the liquor dealer organizes for his, so the professional politician organizes for his business. Politics is always with us, and to quote another saying of the recent campaign, which will long stick in our memories: "those who know anything at all, know there is no politics in politics." The politician prominently lives by his wits. He joins himself, organizes a club or local committee, secures an office, tries in advance to pick out the winning party, runs a machine to demonstrate his political strength, and then waits patiently for the result. In combination with his friends, he makes nominations to office, solicits voluntary subscriptions, levies taxes upon office holders and an assessment upon candidates, and raises funds sufficient to pay the expenses of his campaign, both legitimate and illegitimate. The legitimate expenses are the printing and distribution of the ballots and the campaign literature, and the conveying of poor, sick or infirm electors to the polls; everything else is forbidden. The renting of rooms for headquarters, the payment of money incident to the business of an election, the procuring the attendance of voters at the polls, the courts hold, are all expressly prohibited, as is also payment for services in taking charge of rooms and running associations.

POLITICAL POWER IN THE HANDS OF POLITICAL CORPORATIONS.

Our machinery of elections is under the control of the officers of the law, with the single exception of the printing and distribution of the ballots. It is the ballot by means of which the will of the people is determined. The law carefully guards the other machinery of elections, but this most essential part of the whole machinery, to secure the proper casting of which, all the rest of the machinery exists, has been deliberately left to individual initiation. The result is that those who see fit to organize themselves into a party to make nominations for offices, to levy assessments upon their candidates or upon their official followers, and with the proceeds not only to pay for the printing of the ballots, but to hire men to distribute them at the polling places, are given the virtual monopoly of the political power. Like other monopolists, they find themselves divided into several corporations, which fight for the final monopoly. Those who win are monopolists in fact, enjoying the fruits of their work. Those who lose wait for the next opportunity for control; but political power has passed out of the hands of the people into those of these political corporations.

WHY TAMMANY SURIVES EVERY DEFEAT.

One of these corporations even holds a charter from the state, and under the guise of a charitable organization devotes its property and its influence to the single purpose of controlling the distribution of office. This may appear to you a remarkable fact, but it is the literal truth concerning the organization known as Tammany Hall, which is only the political expression of the corporation known as the Tammany Society or Columbia Order. This is why Tammany always survives defeat. If one of these corporations sees fit to ally itself with the interests of the monopolists, by naming some prominent railroad man, or some prominent manufacturer or banker, or to the liquor dealers, by espousing their cause, it not only finds it easy to raise funds for its campaign purposes, but its candidates having received nomination from a machine which can effectively man the polls and handle the vote, are willing to pay well for their whistle; the risk being, from a purely business point of view, a good one. When a party becomes so weak that such a risk on the part of its candidates is a bad risk, it fails to secure candidates and goes out of existence by extinction or merger.

EIGHTY-FIVE THOUSAND MEN AT FIVE DOLLARS EACH.

There are 856 polling places in the city of New York. There are 280,000 voters. Polit-

ical organizations have to supply ballots to these voters, both before and during the elections; and to do so during the election, have to supply attendants at the polls. For each polling place the law supplies six officers as polling clerks, inspectors or canvassers, and from two to ten officers as deputy United States marshals. Each local organization supplies at least six workers at \$5 a piece. It is supposed to be impossible for any faction or party to run a ticket in New York city with any hope of success with less than \$30 per election district. I am confident that during the last election there was spent in each election district in the city by the three parties, nominally for the employment of workers at the polls, not less than \$500. And this sum has no reference to the vast amounts placed in the hands of individuals with the open and avowed purpose of buying votes—the contributions of national committees. The workers are employed at from \$2 to \$10 per day—\$5 per day is a fair and rather high average. The fund of \$500 being so divided, would supply \$5 to each 100 men engaged in a district. Thus the eight hundred and fifty odd districts, would give over \$5,000 men employed. And, starting as the figure may be, I am confident that it is not placing it too high when we say that number of persons received money for their alleged services or as bribees in the election during the recent campaign, leaving entirely out of consideration those who are under pay of the public as sworn officers of the state or nation. I have compared these figures with many practical politicians, and they all agree that they are conservative.

ONE WAY IN WHICH BRIBERY IS DISGUISED.

Those of you who live on Fifth avenue or on Murray hill will find it difficult to understand this because when you go the polls you see but three or four men distributing the ballots and observe that they are apparently respectable and orderly citizens. You, however, live in the more favored parts of the city. If you were to go down to Paradise park or to Tompkins square, you would see a different state of affairs; but to see it you would have to go early in the morning. The men whom you see at your own polling place, or whom you see at Tompkins square late in the afternoon, are the election district captains, who are responsible for the booths and who stay at the polls all day. It is to one of these men that you go to get your ticket, but you ask what has become of the other "workers?" The answer is that they did their so-called work early in the morning, received their pay, voted, and were then discharged for the day, the voting being their only actual work. This is the clever way in which bribery is disguised, where it is disguised at all; but there are parts of the city, as has been shown by the city reform club, and has been discovered by many others of us, where the open use of money may be seen at almost any hour from the opening to the closing of the polls.

WHERE THE EVIL LIES.

The monopoly of nominations and the availability of money in elections all work to the protection of interests opposed to the common good and spring out of causes which lie deeper than any election machinery, but are, nevertheless, given full and complete play because of the form of that machinery. So long as the state fails utterly to protect the ballot itself, to take it in its own charge, to print it and distribute it through swarms of officers of the law, amenable to the penalties of the law, universal suffrage must continue to defeat the end for which it was granted by the Constitution. I have tried to describe the evil, and it is no pleasant task.

In describing it I have hinted at the reason. For want of time, however, I have found it necessary to give but a partial description. I have said nothing of how the men who print and distribute the ballots can juggle with them, and bunch and rebrand them to their own satisfaction, betraying the trust which they call themselves, who live at the expense of the people. "The exploitation of man by man" is for Heine, as well as for St. Simon, the formula of aristocracy, the antithesis of democracy, and is the formula I want to use as aptly describing the system under which we actually live, whatever the theory of the system may decide.

THE LAW ALLOWS IT.

Whether the man who uses this system for his own or his party's advantage, be a Garrett, a Gould, a Vanderbilt or a Carnegie, whether he be a Quay, a Hill or a Dudley, whether he be some millionaire brewer, some ex-convict, or some Stoakes organizing liquor palaces in hotels and exchanges, he and they flourish because the law permits "the exploitation of man by man," because our republican government is a name and not a reality, where our tax laws are only instruments for reciprocal spoliation and our election laws serve no end except to register the power of money or the will of the boss, where elections have ceased to be an honest register of the popular will and have become as swords in the hands of the spoilers. Year after year the people suffer the spoliation, unmindful of the fact that where they do not have the last word, where the government does not truly represent the whole people, where the popular will cannot be surely and quickly transmuted into legislation and obeyed in administration, the word liberty is nothing less than a hood to blind them while they are led to their destruction. From every state in this Union the cry is now going up for electoral reform and the ballot will be soon, if not easily won. The facts only need to be known for the character of the needed legislation to be understood. Be it ours to carry on the fight.

THE REFORM PROPOSED.

If a given number of citizens had the right to certify their choice of a nominee to a public officer, the name of such choice to be printed on the ballot together with the names of all other nominees for the same office, whether of other spontaneous groups or of regularly organized parties, an end could be put to the monopoly now enjoyed by the machines in the making of valuable nominations. If the tickets were printed at public expense, the poor man in running for office would find himself at once in a position of equality with the rich man, who now alone can pay the expenses of an election. If the tickets were distributed by sworn officers of the law, it would be impossible to juggle with them; it would be impossible for a party to be sold out and for trusts to be disregarded; it would be impracticable for fraudulent combinations to be made and the names of all candidates for the same office being printed on the same paper and distributed by the same officer, all candidates would be in a position of perfect equality so far as the machinery of election was concerned, down to the very moment when the ballot was deposited in the box. The tickets being so printed, would necessitate actual discrimination on the part of the voters. It would be no longer possible for them to receive a bunch outside of a polling place, and as I have repeatedly seen done, to walk with the tickets in the air until they had reached the ballot box, always accompanied with the men whose money they had taken, and thus supplying ocular evidence of the fact that they had made delivery of the thing for which they had taken pay. If the voter were compelled to retire and privately select the names of those on his ballot for whom he preferred to vote and all persons whatever were excluded from the booth

KNOWING THAT, NEVER YET.

Share of Truth was vainly set

In the world's wide fallow,

After hands shall sow the seed,

Reap the harvest yellow.

THE SITUATION IN TORONTO.

Moronto Grip.

"The Christian attitude of the mind is that of candor, honesty and sincerity," said the Rev. Ministerial Association, speaking from this platform. "Christianity welcomes every new development of truth, earnestly studies the same with open mind, and with a contrite heart, and it convinced that it is truth which is ready to be spent and be spent in the propagation of the same." "Amen" ejaculated a member of the Anti-poverty society, from one of the pews. Next day he waited on Rev. Min. Association, and requested that he might be permitted to lay before him an outline of the proposed single tax system, which was at present in the air. "No, sir," said the Rev. Association, curiously, "you can't tell me anything I don't know. I need no light on the subject. Get out!" And then the reverend and extremely candid gentleman sat down to write a sermon entitled, "Henry Georgeism; or, the Absurdity of Dividing up Property so as to put all Men on an Equality."

THE PRINCE OF WALES AN EXCITOR.

London Democrat.

At the Lambeth police court, the other day, an action was brought by the prince of Wales against Margaret Sinclair, to evict her from the house, 312 Kensington park road, let at £14 a week, and for rent and mesne profits. The magistrate made an order for possession to be given to the plaintiff. During the hearing an agreement put in was objected to, not being stamped, but the solicitor for the prince said it was not necessary, the royal family being exempted from the provisions of the stamp act.

Such REFORMS WILL CLEAR THE WAY FOR OTHER REFORMS.

When such a bill is passed by our legislature we shall have political equality so far as the machinery of the elections can give it to us. So long as the machinery is imperfect there might as well be no machinery at all. We shall for the first time be thoroughly prepared to discuss other questions, like that of the representation of the minority; we shall for the first time have it in our power to compete on equal terms with political monopolies for the control of the legislature; we shall for the first time be able to express our views through our representatives and to pass legislation curbing the liquor power, regulating the system of taxation, controlling grain corporations and touching other issues of equally great importance, the consideration of which by any legislature that has sat in Albany for years past, has been absolutely out of the question. The legislature will no longer be controlled by the railroads, by the trusts, by the bribees and by the bosses, or if so controlled the great people will at least always have sufficient representation to denounce the control and bring the public face to face with its dangers. It is useless to talk of general legislative reform until we have secured the machinery whereby the will of the people can be honestly determined and not thwarted by the organization of fraud and corruption which lead themselves as voluntary political weapons to the men who to-day hold the state in their grip.

Now, let us watch for the prosperous times we are to have under republican administration. The workingmen have been assured that they are to be protected from主人 labor and that a general raise in wages is to follow. We hope that this will be the case, but somehow, we have our doubts about it.

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WHAT WE SHOULD DO.

VIEWS OF SINGLE TAX MEN ALL ALONG THE LINE.

Opinions Regarding the Situation.—The Progress Made—New Plans of Campaign—Bright Ideas—Suggestions About How to Go to Work—The Single Tax Lecture Bureau—Everybody in Good Spirits and Ready for Fresh Work.

The following brief paragraphs from some of our friends in various parts of the country relative to the recent political conflict and the work of the future must bring encouragement to the faint hearted, if there are any such men or women in our ranks. Let the letters speak for themselves:

George L. Faulk, Brooklyn.—We are defeated, but should not be discouraged. I have entered the cause of single tax and free trade to stay. My employer waited into his place of business the morning after election with a cock on his hat, crowing and shouting "He's all right." I happened to be near by and I asked him, "Who is all right?" "Harrison" he answered. My answer was that it was probably a godsend to us that Cleveland did not get elected, for our wages would have been pulled down. "But Mr. Harrison is elected," I said, "and as protection is such a blessing to workingmen you will increase our wages." He left me very quickly.

Will C. James, Newport, Ky.—I am ready for the work before us. I have had the satisfaction of convincing one voter since Tuesday last that he made a mistake in casting his vote for protection; and another, a republican of some prominence in this city, came to me the day after election and asked me to furnish him with "Progress and Poverty" and "Protection or Free Trade" as he wished to make a study of them. He will "see the cat" without doubt. The idea of establishing a lecture bureau, as suggested by Mr. Carroll of Nashville, is a good one. The best agents we can employ at present are public speakers and Standardists and the more of these the better.

J. G. Malcolm, Hutchinson, Kan.—Single tax people should first go to work for electoral reform; and, second, circulate petitions to have all taxes removed from personal property and the improvements on land. Almost every good man will help us to carry these reforms. We have presented the petition, as published in THE STANDARD some time ago, to sixteen persons, twelve of whom are farmers, and not one so far has refused to sign it. Most of them say it is exactly what they have long wanted. We may safely say that nine-tenths of the farmers will sign that petition. This would be a large step in the right direction and after having taken that we will easier take the next step. But electoral reform should be first of all. To carry reforms our law makers must know that they cannot carry elections with money. They must know that the only way they can continue in power is to give their support to just laws.

H. Brown, Jr., Elmhurst, Ill.—We should stick to the single tax. Our position is outside of either of the big political parties. By joining with the politicos we become tainted down by the mob.

Philip J. Zarn, New York.—The single tax can only come after all other taxes are removed. Therefore I suggest that we confine ourselves to agitating the removal of the tariff tax as regards the national movement; and as to the local movement that we work for ballot reform. We should organize assembly or congressional district clubs and hold semi-monthly meetings to discuss and spread knowledge concerning economic questions. A central body consisting of delegates from each of the assembly district clubs should provide competent speakers to address the districts. Dues should be a dollar a month, which I shall hold myself willing to pay and have several friends who will do likewise.

Benjamin E. Bloom, St. Louis, Mo.—We must work harder, sacrifice more and talk free trade and single tax at every opportunity. Not every man who voted for Harrison and Morton is a protectionist. Though Grover Cleveland took the bloody shirt and hung it on the fence to rot, one campaign was soon to a time to uproot from the minds of men such a deep seated superstition with such a well sounding name as "protection to labor."

C. C. Platt, Ithaca, N. Y.—Here is an item which appears in one evening paper: "At a preliminary conference held last evening, it was resolved to resume at once, and aggressively, the campaign for a reduction of the tariff on the general lines laid down in the President's message. It is proposed to form a club open to all voters who sympathize with this object, to hold frequent meetings at Ithaca and in the neighborhood, to distribute systematic discussion of the entire tariff system." Such action will prevent another campaign being conducted by would be reformers "afraid of their horses."

W. W. Gofman, Wyandotte, Mich.—Let us cut loose from any and all entangling alliances and stand squarely and uncompromisingly upon the principles underlying the single tax. I have kept up a terrible thinking during the campaign, and to the last felt that the single tax stampede to Mr. Cleveland was wrong and demoralizing. Not until the morning of the 5th—twenty-four hours before the opening of the polls—could or did I decide to give him my support, and then under protest. Let us organize a single tax party, and upon every possible occasion stand up and be counted.

O. Bishop, Editor Saturday Argus, Clinton, Ind.—I favor first, a vigorous educational campaign of fully one year's duration. Then, secondly, organization of local, state and national machinery. Thirdly, a season of lectures and the establishment of lecture and literary bureaus at the principal cities. Fourthly, organization finally for political action independent of either of the old parties. The democratic masses are as hopelessly wedded to protection as the republican, differing only in degree. We must draw all men unto us, men of every party and religious faith, and this we cannot do now by attaching ourselves to either of the old and really unpopular political parties. But our sword of education and time will bring us our next wisest step. The morning after the election I began my duty just as though our campaign had not closed, by distributing your free trade and single tax literature among our farmers and laborers, and I shall keep it up as long as I can get men to read them. The effect of this quiet educational work before election is shown by these figures: This township gave Blaine a majority of 131 in a total vote of 747. Tuesday we had Harrison a majority of only 47 and a plurality of 163 over Cleveland in a total vote of 856. I can count single tax men and free traders here now by the score, whereas, even three years ago it was hardly safe for me to print Henry George's "Social Problems" in my paper.

I would like to hear from the single tax men of Indiana soon. We must be up and stirring. The work is behind in our state and we have a great deal to do. Do you not

think our first move is for electoral reform—secret ballot—and then tax reform?

Edmund Yardley, Pittsburgh, Pa.—After the first bitter disappointment of our defeat was over it seemed to me that I would write to Mr. Chauncey F. Black, and either join one of the democratic societies, if any were in existence in this part of the country, or else unite with my friends to form one. Whether this is the best plan or whether we should keep ourselves free from any party ties I am not clear at the present writing. But of this I am clear, despite its corruption, despite the ignorance of many of its voters, the democratic party must now continue in the lead in the free trade crusade. It looks as if it would be for us to continue to act with them on national and state issues as far as we conveniently can. I know many men who would willingly assist in educating the people in tariff reform and free trade who are not yet quite ready to adopt the single tax. Should we not, therefore, endeavor to form these democratic societies for the purpose of educating each other and "spreading the light" all over the country?

John Hutton, New York.—To my mind the organization of a radical party to push forward our ideas where neither of the old parties is progressive is the best possible thing we can do. We are radicals. Let our party be known as the "radical" party. Let us go into the next state campaign and by voice and pen proclaim the truths we hold so dear.

R. Baker, Albany, N. Y.—Here in Albany Cleveland's majority was nearly trebled over what it was in 1888, showing the result of the sledge-hammer blows delivered by the single tax men. Quite a number of tariff reform republicans supported Harrison because they believed that their party would, if elected, steal the democratic thunder. Let us go into the next state campaign and by voice and pen proclaim the truths we hold so dear.

W. C. Echandom, St. Louis, Mo.—I trade with mother earth, labor for wealth. With brother man I trade wealth for wealth. This trading with mother earth and brother man is natural, and should be free. Therefore I am a free trader by nature. "Protection" in the shape of tariff to landowners or in the shape of tariff to market owners, is a restriction to trade, and must be abolished. The remedy, as all single tax men well know, is to abolish all forms of taxation except a single tax on land values. For a full explanation of my views as to the easiest way of success, I take pleasure in referring you to the last two chapters of "Protection or Free Trade." We must see to it, if possible, that the democratic party remains out of power until the people are ready for absolute free trade. Already the landlords and their beneficiaries have gone quietly over to the "protectionists" and it only remains for us to teach the people that free trade with mother earth and brother man is the only remedy for existing evils, and victory is ours.

W. W. Olmsted, Forest City, Iowa.—The plan I am proposing in this part of the state is this: Let the legislature enact a statute exempting all buildings, machinery, apparatus and fixtures of every kind or amount used for manufacturing purposes from taxation. This proposition at once interests the manufacturers and meets with the approval of a great many men irrespective of party. As soon as it is enacted the next step is the abolition of taxes on all improvements. This scheme is received favorably here and the party that advocates it will succeed in this part of Iowa.

B. D. V. Reeve, Pueblo, Col.—I believe the hope of the single tax men lies in ballot reform. That must be an assured fact before any material advance of a practical nature can be made. I would suggest some plan of this kind: Let a tract be prepared embodying a clear and brief exposition of the essential features of the Australian system, with a few terse explanations of the chief evils it guards against. If deemed advisable, it might contain a draft of a system adapted to our institutions.

This tract, judiciously circulated, would arouse public sentiment, and give to thinking men a ray of hope where they see none now. Interest once awakened, signatures to petitions could be easily obtained, and with this ammunition and personal letters to members of the assembly, I believe the legislature could be carried, and this system incorporated into the laws of nearly every state whose legislature meets this winter. Many of the state legislatures meet biennially. It must be this year, or wait two years. I do not believe in fighting under cover, but this work is not essential to the single tax idea save as it breathes of freedom; and the name of Henry George is still a "booby terror" to many people, and land and labor library literature ruins the gauntlet of the waste basket. I would therefore suggest that this tract be anonymous as to pen and press. In this move lies meat and drink, hope and cheer for the single tax advocate. 'Tis the short cut to that for which we strive.

M. Bittner, New York.—The causes which led to Cleveland's defeat, have been sufficiently sifted since the election to satisfy all single tax men, that as far as they are concerned a victory has been gained. Tariff discussion has made a great many free traders, some of whom it will be easy to get to join the single tax movement. But alas, we have no organization. I would therefore suggest that the single tax men of this city form a single tax club, members paying \$1 a month dues; that the club have regular meetings, and as soon as it feels strong enough also give public meetings with able speakers, and take up collections, and who knows but what in time we may have our own club house?

Byron Millett, Denver, Col.—I would say, agitate the "single tax question" and the tariff issue will take care of itself. I believe that land monopoly is the greatest of governmental sins, so intense is "beard the lion in his den." The proportions of "the cat" are becoming more conspicuous each day.

George J. Ball, Olean, N. Y.—I see no reason for discouragement. We did not elect Cleveland, but we have made great gains for the single tax. The speeches of Wm. J. Gersuch and W. E. Estell here during the fight had a most important effect. Thought has been aroused and discussions have been very general. So intense was the excitement that night that the police three times were obliged to break the blockade opposite the Opera house, and finally gave the business up, allowing the discussion to continue to a very late hour. Now is the time to strike a telling blow for electoral reform. With the democratic party smarting under unexpected defeat, which it attributes mainly to the corrupt use of money, and the republican party pledged to the reform, it seems that with one great effort we could get the signatures of enough of the voters of this state to a petition for electoral reform to make opposition on the part of any political suicidal.

E. Ellting, Sacramento, Cal.—The great powers of monopoly and Hillism did it. Nevertheless, more good work was accomplished than was done in our six years of standing alone. The movement can't stop now. It must go on. I did a good deal of speaking through the state and found that it was much easier to convince a man of the necessity for clear free trade than for mere tariff reduction. God bless THE STANDARD. Our work will never die.

Charles C. Platt, Ithaca, N. Y.—Here is an item which appears in one evening paper: "At a preliminary conference held last evening, it was resolved to resume at once, and aggressively, the campaign for a reduction of the tariff on the general lines laid down in the President's message. It is proposed to form a club open to all voters who sympathize with this object, to hold frequent meetings at Ithaca and in the neighborhood, to distribute systematic discussion of the entire tariff system." Such action will prevent another campaign being conducted by would be reformers "afraid of their horses."

W. W. Gofman, Wyandotte, Mich.—Let us cut loose from any and all entangling alliances and stand squarely and uncompromisingly upon the principles underlying the single tax. I have kept up a terrible thinking during the campaign, and to the last felt that the single tax stampede to Mr. Cleveland was wrong and demoralizing. Not until the morning of the 5th—twenty-four hours before the opening of the polls—could or did I decide to give him my support, and then under protest. Let us organize a single tax party, and upon every possible occasion stand up and be counted.

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friends are ready to go on educating them out of it.

D. Stewart, Chillicothe, Mo.—We will at once begin the free trade fight for 1892 by organizing clubs all through this section. We know we are on the right and must succeed.

"For freedom's battle, once begun,
Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son,
Th' baffled oft, is ever won."

J. M. Heard, New York.—I would suggest that the strength of the single tax may be concentrated for the next two years on the congressional districts where the republicans have been successful by small majorities. Single tax and free trade clubs should be formed, and plentiful distribution of our literature made. When means allowed, and whenever a good audience could be collected, a qualified speaker should make an address. Appeals to reason on a single issue will be much more likely to get attentive listeners, when no election is immediately pending, than when men's passions and prejudices are aroused on other subjects than what seems to us important above all others.

J. M. Place, Jeffersonville, Ind.—In the campaign just ended we have in reality lost nothing. True we would have gained a great deal more by the election of Grover Cleveland, but many converts have been made to absolute free trade, and many others have accepted the truths of the single tax theory. A Louisville news dealer informed me that the sale of Henry George's books for several weeks past had been remarkable. As to the present and future, we must go to work; we must prepare for the next congressional election and we must prepare to send in 1892 a free trader to Washington to relieve Mr. Harrison.

S. C. Reese, Arcola, Ill.—Tariff discussion will go on just the same and it should be more determined.

A. Van Dyke, New York.—Of course we won't stop our campaign—we are just beginning. The election seems to prove that it will be an easy thing for us to gain headway in the towns; therefore, towns offering least resistance, we should have an organization in every town, if it is composed of only one man. How to reach the farmers is the hardest point to get over. There are several papers printed especially for farmers. The remedy, as all single tax men well know, is to abolish all forms of taxation except a single tax on land values. For a full explanation of my views as to the easiest way of success, I take pleasure in referring you to the last two chapters of "Protection or Free Trade." We must see to it, if possible, that the democratic party remains out of power until the people are ready for absolute free trade. Already the landlords and their beneficiaries have gone quietly over to the "protectionists" and it only remains for us to teach the people that free trade with mother earth and brother man is the only remedy for existing evils, and victory is ours.

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G. C. Platt, Ithaca, N. Y.—Here is an item which appears in one evening paper: "At a preliminary conference held last evening, it was resolved to resume at once, and aggressively, the campaign for a reduction of the tariff on the general lines laid down in the President's message. It is proposed to form a club open to all voters who sympathize with this object, to hold frequent meetings at Ithaca and in the neighborhood, to distribute systematic discussion of the entire tariff system." Such action will prevent another campaign being conducted by would be reformers "afraid of their horses."

W. W. Gofman, Wyandotte, Mich.—Let us cut loose from any and all entangling alliances and stand squarely and uncompromisingly upon the principles underlying the single tax. I have kept up a terrible thinking during the campaign, and to the last felt that the single tax stampede to Mr. Cleveland was wrong and demoralizing. Not until the morning of the 5th—twenty-four hours before the opening of the polls—could or did I decide to give him my support, and then under protest. Let us organize a single tax party, and upon every possible occasion stand up and be counted.

O. Bishop, Editor Saturday Argus, Clinton, Ind.—I favor first, a vigorous educational campaign of fully one year's duration. Then, secondly, organization of local, state and national machinery. Thirdly, a season of lectures and the establishment of lecture and literary bureaus at the principal cities. Fourthly, organization finally for political action independent of either of the old parties. The democratic masses are as hopelessly wedded to protection as the republican, differing only in degree. We must draw all men unto us, men of every party and religious faith, and this we cannot do now by attaching ourselves to either of the old and really unpopular political parties. But our sword of education and time will bring us our next wisest step. The morning after the election I began my duty just as though our campaign had not closed, by distributing your free trade and single tax literature among our farmers and laborers, and I shall keep it up as long as I can get men to read them. The effect of this quiet educational work before election is shown by these figures: This township gave Blaine a majority of 131 in a total vote of 747. Tuesday we had Harrison a majority of only 47 and a plurality of 163 over Cleveland in a total vote of 856. I can count single tax men and free traders here now by the score, whereas, even three years ago it was hardly safe for me to print Henry George's "Social Problems" in my paper.

I would like to hear from the single tax men of Indiana soon. We must be up and stirring. The work is behind in our state and we have a great deal to do. Do you not

GOVERNOR BLACK'S RINGING WORDS.

If Says the Democratic Party Has No Thought of Abandoning the Fight.

Chauncey F. Black, president of the democratic society of Pennsylvania, has written an address that begins as follows:

The democratic party has met temporary defeat in defense of a just, equitable and necessary principle of free government. It contended that unnecessary taxation was unjust legislation; that the federal government had no right to tax imports from the people. It might be necessary for us to support economically administered; and that it had no right to take money from the mass of men to confer it, as a mere largess upon a class. This doctrine has been held by the democratic party from the adoption of the Constitution to the present day. It was the doctrine of Jefferson and of every democratic statesman in our history. But since the civil war the Federal scheme of a strong government, taking a broad scope of power, has been incorporated in the policy of the general government, and for more than a quarter of a century has been steadily maintained by our legislation and administration.

The conflict between these two principles of government is most assuredly irreconcileable. It must continue until the industrial system is reformed, that the ensuing popular debate has been in progress less than a year, the results of the voting on November 6 furnish the friends of tariff reform the most abundant evidence of the popularity of the single tax. The democratic party will be to obstruct its growth.

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THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

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Sample copies sent free on application.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1883.

THE STANDARD is forwarded to subscribers by the early morning mails each Thursday. Subscribers who do not receive the paper promptly will confer a favor by communicating with the publisher.

THE STANDARD advocates the abolition of all taxes upon industry and the products of industry, and the taking, by taxation upon land values irrespective of improvements, of the annual rental value of all those various forms of natural opportunities embraced under the general term, Land.

We hold that to tax labor or its products is to discourage industry.

We hold that to tax land values to their full amount will render it impossible for any man to exact from others a price for the privilege of using those bounties of nature in which all living men have an equal right of use; that it will compel every individual controlling natural opportunities to either utilize them by the employment of labor, or abandon them to others, that it will thus provide opportunities of work for all men and secure to each the full reward of his labor; and that as a result involuntary poverty will be abolished, and the greed, intemperance and vice that spring from poverty and the dread of poverty will be swept away.

The suit to annul the charter of the North river sugar refining company is now on trial. It is brought on the ground that by becoming a member of the sugar trust, which controls all but four of the sugar refineries of the country and regulates the supply and price of sugar, it has forfeited its corporate franchise. The defense is that it is not the company but its stockholders who have joined the trust, and that they have a right to do as they please with their stock. And over this nice point the wrangle goes on and nobody will be hurt very much no matter how the suit turns out. When members of trades unions combined to regulate the supply and price of labor, they were promptly indicted and put into the prisoners' dock; but when rich and respectable sugar refiners, who eat more sugar than they refine, combine to regulate the supply and price of sugar, they are invited into the civil courts, and the legal astuteness that readily discovered crime in trades unionism, is in doubt as to whether there is even civil wrong in trusts.

Protection to American industry has not yet begun to operate in Chicago, where a railroad strike over a question of wages took place last week. Nor in Kansas City where railroad employees have accepted a forced reduction of ten per cent in their wages. Nor yet in Indianapolis, where a brakeman's strike has just been put down and some of the striking brakemen locked up.

It is reported that President Cleveland, though he will urge tariff reduction in his next message, does not believe the issue will bring his party back into power in 1892, because he thinks the republican leaders are shrewd enough to discover the handwriting on the wall and to begin a gradual tariff reduction.

That the republicans will try to do this is now more than probable; but how can they succeed? In one way only can reduction of tariff revenues be accomplished consistently with the policy of protection; and that is by reform in the direction of prohibitory duties. This kind of reform will but make clearer the issue of free trade, and the overthrow of protection the more certain and speedy; while any other kind of reform is sure to excite to wrath the protectionists from whom, in the latter days of the campaign, "fat" for "floaters" was extracted.

The submission to free trade of the English Tories after their triumph in the forties, is not to be paralleled by our protectionists. The protected classes there were landlords whose interests were so uniform that it was not difficult for a shrewd tory minister to convince them of the importance of making a partial surrender before the agitation had gone so far as to compel a complete and unconditional surrender. But with us it is different. The truth that landlordism ultimately reaps any advantages of protection, is so obscured here by complex industrial relations and the intervention of trusts and other special monopolies that the interests of protection seem to be diversified. While that is so, it is impossible for protectionists to make any agreement for partial surrender. Partial surrender here does not mean as it did in England the surrender by all who are protected of a percentage of their protection; it means the surrender of some protected classes for the benefit of others. And what class of protectionists are willing to lead upon the altar? The only ones

we suspect are the working class and the agricultural class, and if they are willing it is because they are used to it. When the republican party begins to reform the tariff by cutting off the privileges of any of its pets it will find enough "fat" in the fire to make a pretty lively blaze.

The recent announcement by Sir George Trevelyan, that a feature of the Gladstone policy is to be taxation of ground rents, is such welcome news to us all that we will watch English politics almost as keenly as we watch our own.

"What's the use of talking about free land for workingmen?" asked a Very Conservative Gentleman of a Single Tax Man. "They wouldn't improve it if they could get it. You wouldn't yourself. Listen to me. I'll give you a lot of land on the edge of a thriving town if you will put up a house on it and live there." "And I decline your offer," said the Single Tax Man.

"Of course, I knew you would. Now, if it's land you want, why?"

"Because I do not want your charity. I want every one to have equal rights before the law, and that cannot be done while some are allowed to monopolize the surface of the earth. But, if you please, I will waive my scruples about charity, and not only accept your offer, but guarantee to find ten thousand, ay, fifty thousand workingmen to do the same, on one condition."

"Indeed, and what is the condition?"

"That we shall be exempt from taxation of every kind, direct and indirect, except on the value of the lots you give us."

Real estate exhibits "a general strengthening in values and firmness in tone," say the market reports. This is encouraging news to land owners, and no doubt it excites the interest of speculators; but what about the home buyer and the home renter? To him "a general strengthening in values" means harder work or poorer living, while "firmness in tone" along the rent line suggests anything but firmness in tone along the life line. What "a general strengthening in values and firmness in tone" means in the parlance of real estate exchanges may be inferred from the report of a sale last week of two lots containing 5,000 square feet for \$25,000, or \$5,750 a square foot. Seven years ago these same lots, in precisely the same condition, brought \$11,500, or \$2,30 a square foot. In the short space of seven years, therefore, there has been such a strengthening in value and firmness in tone in the neighborhood of these lots that the price of permission to build upon them has more than doubled. If there were less firmness in the tone of the land market there would be less flabbiness in the tone of the labor market.

The supreme court of Illinois has interfered with a new scheme intended to give landlords, who already have nine-tenths of the law in their favor, the other tenth. In Chicago a form of lease which has been much in use, contains a clause appointing an attorney to appear for the tenant in any court and consent to judgment for unpaid rent. This lease, if valid, would enable landlords to enter judgment against tenants without really bringing the tenant into court or giving him a chance to be heard. And yet the decision of the supreme court, which held the clause to be void, was rendered by only a majority of the judges. Perhaps the difference of opinion is not to be wondered at, however, when it is remembered that the seller of provisions for consumption is held to warrant their wholesomeness as food, the seller or renter of a house for a dwelling does not warrant that it is a wholesome dwelling. When landlords are lawgivers, landslaves may marvel at the crookedness of the law but their marveling will not make it straight.

It is a good sign, this talk of a bargain between the republican party and certain democrats of the south to break the solid south. It means a division of parties in the southern states which will be better for the south and better for the whole country. The mere rumor has brought out in the editorial columns of the *Charleston News and Courier*, a democratic note with the ring of true metal, so unfamiliar in the southern press. Admitting that there are many men in the south who have been democrats from necessity instead of principle, and who may leave, it declares that "they who remain—they who believe in democratic principles as the only safeguard of republican institutions, will stand together more firmly than ever before." It is this the democratic party needs, north as well as south—the withdrawal of those of its members who are not democrats. As they go, not alone will they who remain stand together firmer than ever, but to them will come sheets of democrats who have never been and are not now of the democratic party—men to whom the party has been made repulsive by the undemocratic direction in which the enemies of democracy in its councils have guided it.

The democratic party has escaped a serious accident through what seemed at first a disaster. In losing the house of representatives it escaped the leadership in Congress of Samuel J. Randall, for if the house had been closely democratic it was the intention of the republicans to support Randall for speaker against Carlisle. Perhaps, however, though worse for the democratic party, it would have been better for the tariff issue, since such a contest for the speakership would have

broken party lines and drawn more sharply the issue of protection or free trade.

The Nonantum worsted company of Newton, Massachusetts, is walking on quicksand. In some way it pays this concern, or at least the managers of the concern think it pays it, to have the United States government, on pretense of raising revenues, tax all American citizens for the benefit of some American citizens. Hence, the soul of that corporation—assuming it to have a soul, which Blackstone says is impossible—revolts at the idea of a tariff for revenue, and in a special notice posted conspicuously in its mills it announces that "every voter that is employed by this company will be presented with a year's subscription to any daily newspaper that does not advocate the cause of protection, which does not mean tariff for revenue but does mean American wages for American workers." Now, this is a dangerous proposition. In the first place, a protection paper is the very worst thing for a man of logical mind to read, unless it is desired to make him a free trader; and it may be supposed that in the employ of this company will be at least one subscriber of logical mind. So much granted, there will not be a protectionist in that worsted mill when the first year's subscription to the protection paper runs out for a single genuine free trader in the force of a factory is like a little yeast in a lump of dough. And even if there are no logicians in the Nonantum mill a protectionist paper will, nevertheless, be a source of danger, for stern experience may make them logicians. After reading for several months of the importance of a high tariff to make high wages, what are these people likely to think, even the most middle headed among them, when wages are reduced without any reduction in the tariff, or the tariff is raised without any increase of wages? Such things have happened and are likely to happen again. It is very dangerous, gentlemen of the worsted mill! Far better distribute Sunday school books that inculcate contentment here and promise joy hereafter.

The Tory government of England proposes to devote \$25,000,000 to the "forced" purchase of farms from landlords for tenants. This is as bad a piece of legislation as could be conceived. But, coming from a tory minister it is significant of the state of scare into which land monopolists have been driven. It sounds like the music of retreat.

The legislature of Vermont has by a large majority defeated a bill giving to women the right to vote in municipal elections. A variety of reasons for this are suggested by the press of the Green mountain state. One of them is that the Women's Christian temperance union by endorsing the prohibitionists proved to the republican solons of Vermont that women are as yet too profoundly ignorant of practical politics to be trusted with the suffrage! This sounds like what Artemus Ward used to call "sur-asm," but it is probable that some such idea influenced the result. To a certain order of politicians what could be more convincing evidence of woman's incapacity to vote than this effort of the Women's temperance union to have votes thrown away on a third party at a time when votes commanded such high prices?

Another and stranger reason was the opposition of women. This reason so generally accepted as conclusive, is, under our theory of government, no reason at all. If the democratic doctrine of "government by the governed," has any meaning, no woman can be justly denied an equal voice in public affairs even though all other women unite in renouncing. In a democracy, the ballot is a birthright, not a franchise. It may be arbitrarily taken away; but it can no more be conferred than can the right of personal liberty. When, therefore, any woman of sane mind and the generally accepted age of discretion, demands the right, she cannot be required to first obtain the approval of her sex. It can be done. It is done. But it is not democratic to do it. And it would never have been done had we not drifted into the monarchical notion, that the ballot is only a franchise which sovereigns may condescendingly confer upon subjects.

The Sun became responsible for a story that the mayor intended to appoint a young woman as a commissioner of education, but changed his mind because women are not so well suited as men for the work required. Two of the present commissioners, Miss Dodge and Mrs. Agnew, have, by their official course, proved in advance the falsity of this conclusion. At "whitewashing" they have been failures, but as commissioners they have deserved the commendation of a fellow member who said to the board: "If they all were as faithful and hard working as Miss Dodge and Mrs. Agnew have been, we could not have too many women commissioners. They have made altogether more calls at the schools than the men have, and their suggestions of improvements have been very valuable, and have been usually concurred in." It is only since the appointment of these two women that there has been any but official evidence of the existence of a board of education.

One of the absurd stories set afloat, apparently by parties who dread the oversight of energetic women commissioners, is to the effect that Miss Dodge and Mrs. Agnew are in favor of introducing uniforms in the Normal school. If they

were it might not be such a bad idea, for there is nothing essentially degrading in a uniform; but the sole basis for the story seems to have been a speech to the senior class, in which Mrs. Agnew said she trusted they all would wear "the uniform of true womanhood—purity, truth, earnestness—and that these characteristics would be shown in their dress as well as in other ways." Here's your thousand black cats in a pear tree which under close examination dwindle to one white cat on a fence.

The single tax men of North Dakota are consoling for the election of Harrison by the expectation that their territory will be admitted as a state, and the hope that its constitution will introduce the single tax. They are already at work, and though they may not—indeed, cannot—be wholly successful, their agitation is certain to give, in a new quarter, a new impulse to the idea. In saying they cannot be wholly successful, we would imply, not that they cannot make the single tax a state institution, but that free trade is an attribute of free production, and that Dakota alone cannot establish free trade. But whether the single tax system is begun by the states and completed by the federal government, or the reverse, is immaterial. What is material is that it shall begin, and having begun, that it shall go on to completion. The probability is that it will be established as a tunnel is bored, beginning at each end and meeting in the middle.

The Chinese exclusion law seems likely to have one queer effect. It is easy to prevent the landing of Chinese at any of our seaports. But it is by no means easy to hinder them from crossing the boundary line from Canada. It may safely be assumed that such Chinamen as may immigrate to the United States henceforth will come via the Dominion. And as Canada imposes a duty of \$50 on every Chinaman landing at her ports, the chief effect of our exclusion law will probably be to materially increase the revenues of our northern neighbor.

GOVERNOR BLACK'S ADDRESS.

We print elsewhere some extracts from ex-Governor Black's address to the democratic societies of Pennsylvania that will interest the readers of THE STANDARD, but which are of vital importance to democratic partisans who are seriously anxious to see their party become the instrument for carrying on the work of tariff reduction. This address is the only utterance by any prominent democrat that recognizes the exact cause of Mr. Cleveland's defeat and points out the only possible road to future democratic success. Of course many circumstances contributed to the general result, but one stands out prominent over all others combined, and that is the failure to convince the voters in the agricultural districts that their own true interests would be served by voting for the "forced" purchase of farms from landlords for tenants. This is as bad a piece of legislation as could be conceived. But, coming from a tory minister it is significant of the state of scare into which land monopolists have been driven. It sounds like the music of retreat.

The Tory government of England proposes to devote \$25,000,000 to the "forced" purchase of farms from landlords for tenants. This is as bad a piece of legislation as could be conceived. But, coming from a tory minister it is significant of the state of scare into which land monopolists have been driven. It sounds like the music of retreat.

The remarks with which the *Star* accompanies this petition will bear reprinting:

To levy a tax upon buildings and improvements is virtually to place a fine upon enterprise and industry. The man who holds vacant property in a growing locality escapes any adequate degree of taxation, does nothing to promote the welfare of the community, and profits from the industry and enterprise of his neighbors who make improvements and give employment to labor. Under the present system of taxation the drone is rewarded and the active, energetic worker is fined by having his taxes increased. Under such a system of taxation as is advocated in the above petition there would be a direct inducement for men to improve their land rather than to permit it to lie idle, or to lease it at reasonable figures to those who would improve it. Capitalists could see their way clear to put their money into buildings without incurring an additional tax that comes near eating up all the profits, and land monopolists could no longer afford to stand across the path of legitimate development by holding on to unimproved property in the heart of a great city. In the country farmers could in like manner invest their surplus accumulations in houses and barns and drainage and other improvements without incurring the onslaught of the assessor to raise his valuation.

The coming legislature will be asked to submit the above amendment to the popular vote by a list of petitioners so numerous that we don't believe they can resist the appeal.

It is seldom that we have seen the practical advantages of the single tax on land values stated with more simplicity and clearness than in these few sentences. The man must be indeed blinded by prejudice or self-interest who can read this terse argument and still fail to see how frightfully our present barbarous system of taxation oppresses and discourages industry; and how completely the proposed change would remedy the evil. The Minneapolis *Evening Star* is doing a good work, indeed. While other journals have been talking as though the issue of the late election had settled economic questions for another generation, it has made haste to strike the keynote of the greater campaign just opening, and it strikes it with the touch of a master.

THE ELECTION IN IDAHO.

The story of the recent election in Idaho is one that every citizen should study.

There are a great many Mormons in Idaho. If they do not form a majority of the voters of the territory, they are at all events sufficiently numerous to give the non-Mormon political managers a great deal of uneasiness. Years ago it was felt that something must be done to prevent their getting control of the local government. And so a law was passed disfranchising them.

This law was a curiosity. It did not disfranchise the Mormons as Mormons.

To have done that would have been to subject men to a penalty on account of their religion. Nor did it disfranchise them as polygamists. For the great majority of Mormons are, and must be, innocent of polygamy. The proportion of the sexes holds in Idaho as elsewhere; or

and makes way for a better party. That is its lookout, not ours. Nevertheless, the men within its ranks who are endeavoring to prepare it for the performance of the duty to which its traditions and the present situation call it, deserve our sympathy and respect. If they succeed a powerful political body can be utilized in forcing forward a great and necessary reform, while if they fail they will themselves be educated into a readiness to abandon a moribund and conscientious organization and assist in organizing a living party imbued with nineteenth century ideas and ready to apply the principles of Jefferson to the problems of the present time.

GETTING RICH BACKWARDS.

We find these figures in the columns of the *Press*:

In 1850 England sent to foreign countries wealth valued at \$830,000,000 and got back wealth valued at \$530,000,000. On January 1, 1851, she had, therefore, \$300,000,000 less wealth than on January 1, 1850. In 1856, however, she exported wealth to the amount of \$1,060,000,000, and got back wealth valued at \$1,450,000,000; net profit for the year, \$65,000,000.

In 1850 the United States sent away wealth valued at \$125,000,000 and received \$174,000,000 worth in return. We were, therefore, better off by \$39,000,000 at the end of the year than at the beginning. In 1856, however, we sent away \$666,000,000 worth and got back only \$635,000,000, showing a net loss of \$31,000,000 on our foreign trade for the year.

We offer no opinion as to the accuracy of these figures, but print them as the *Press* gives them. Whether they are right or wrong is a matter that troubles us very little. What amuses us is that the *Press* should quote them as an argument for protection! It puts above them this descriptive line: "Greater prosperity under protection than under free trade."

The *Press* evidently thinks that the less a man has the better he is off. When it justifies protection on that ground we really haven't a word to say.

STRIKING THE KEYNOTE.

The Minneapolis *Evening Star* prints in its editorial columns the following form of a petition, with a suggestion that readers should sign and return it to the *Star* office:

Whereas, It is unjust that one man should be taxed more for making land useful and employing labor on it than another is taxed for holding land idle and keeping labor off it.

Therefore, We, the undersigned citizens of Minnesota, petition your honorable body to submit to the people of this state at their next regular election such amendments to the constitution as will permit the exemption of personal property and improvements on land from all taxation.

The remarks with which the *Star* accompanies this petition will bear reprinting:

To levy a tax upon buildings and improvements is virtually to place a fine upon enterprise and industry. The man who holds vacant property in a growing locality escapes any adequate degree of taxation, does nothing to promote the welfare of the community, and profits from the industry and enterprise of his neighbors who make improvements and give employment to labor. Under the present system of taxation the drone is rewarded and the active, energetic worker is fined by having his taxes increased. Under such a system of taxation as is advocated in the above petition there would be a direct inducement for men to improve their land rather than to permit it to lie idle, or to lease it at reasonable figures to those who would improve it.

The coming legislature will be asked to submit the above amendment to the popular vote by a list of petitioners so numerous that we don't believe they can resist the appeal.

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MEN AND THINGS.

St. Luke's church, on Hudson street, is one of the old landmarks of New York. It was built in the early part of the century, when the city was miles away and Greenwich was a country village to which New Yorkers fled to escape the risk of yellow fever. For nearly seventy years the church has held possession of a considerable piece of land, which, when St. Luke's was founded, had scarcely any appreciable value. During that time the city has grown from a town to a metropolis. Vast public improvements have been made. Streets have been laid out, graded and paved. Surface and elevated railways have come into being. The land around the church has been covered with houses. Toward none of these improvements, save by the building of one or two dwelling houses, has the church contributed. It has paid no taxes. It has added absolutely nothing to the common stock of wealth.

And now St. Luke's is going to move. Though it stands in the midst of a dense population, its worshippers are leaving it. Its old-time members have moved away uptown, and the new residents somehow are not moved to patronize St. Luke's. So the church will follow the congregation, and has secured an ample piece of ground on 141st street, and the old graves around the building on Hudson street are being opened, and the dead and gone New Yorkers who have rested there tranquilly for two generations past are being carted off. For St. Luke's is going to sell the land, or lease it, or erect buildings on it and lease them, or in some way turn into solid cash, for its own benefit, the value which it has done absolutely nothing to create, but which has been brought into being by the pressure of population and the march of public improvement.

We Americans are fond of boasting that we have no state church. We point to the fact that in England dissenters are forced to pay tithes for the support of an ecclesiastical organization for which they have no use nor liking; and we boast ourselves that in this country such injustices are not perpetrated. But the English tithe is simply a tax upon the privilege of occupying land. And when we consider that residents of Hudson street, who have so little use for St. Luke's church that the church actually has to move away from them, are going to be taxed, in the way of ground rents or purchase money, for the support of a new St. Luke's to be situated miles away from them—when we consider all this, why really it seems as though we may not be so very far from having an established church of our own after all.

At an auction sale of stocks and bonds belonging to the late Joshua Jones of this city, 354 shares in the Pennsylvania coal company of a par value of \$50, sold for \$291 each; and 160 shares in the Singer manufacturing company, par value \$100, were disposed of at \$301 each. Once in a while the veil is lifted from some of our great protected monopolies, and we get an idea of what we really have done for them in taxing ourselves for their benefit.

According to the report of the bureau of statistics at Washington, the value of the exports of domestic breadstuffs from the United States during the month of October, 1888, was \$10,555,578 against \$8,623,314 in October, 1887. During the four months ended October 31, 1888, it was \$43,257,353, against \$33,557,109 during the corresponding four months of 1887; and during the first ten months of 1888 the total value of breadstuffs exported was \$92,912,831, against \$138,515,938 for the same period of last year.

It is not hard to read the lesson of these figures. With a superabundance of land unsurpassed in fertility, with a constantly improving system of transportation from the interior to the seaboard and from the seaboard to the food purchasing countries of Europe, and with a constant influx of immigrants specially adapted for agricultural pursuits, we are steadily falling back from the foremost position among the food producing countries of the world; and if we have not already dropped to second place we are certain to do so within a year or two. For as we recede Russia and India are advancing.

Any farmer who keeps accounts and will take the trouble to do a little figuring can easily discover how this has come about. He will find that for whatever breadstuffs he has had to sell he has received a less price than English farmers have secured for the same kind of product. The price of his wheat and corn is fixed in the English market, and out of that price is deducted the cost of transportation across the Atlantic, together with the necessary brokerages, etc. But for everything he buys with the money received for his breadstuffs he has to pay on the average fully twice what the English farmer is charged for the same articles. A dollar in his hands has only half the purchasing power it has in the hands of his British competitor; and yet that competitor gets more dollars for the same quantity of breadstuffs. Is it any wonder that American agriculture is being discouraged; or that in spite of our fertile prairies, our marvelous railway system, and the increasing efficiency of our labor by the use of machinery, Russia and India are surely and rapidly driving us out of the world's markets?

Let the farmer study his accounts and see how handsomely his farm would have paid him could he have got his clothing, his dress goods, his boots and shoes, his plows and harrows, and all the other manufactured articles he had to buy, at half price. Then he will appreciate what protection has done for him.

The week brings its usual marine tragedy. This time it is the English steamer Black Watch, founded in the Mediterranean with the loss of all hands—in all probability forty to fifty men. That is, all hands are supposed to be lost—the newspaper reporters are not quite sure about it.

Suppose it were a wrecked railway train instead of a wrecked ship; or a mine that had exploded, or a factory that had burned down—and there were a doubt

whether fifty lives were lost or not? The world would insist on knowing something more about the matter; the newspaper reporters would run races to secure the fullest details of the tragedy, and find out just who was responsible. But there will be no fuss like that over the sailors of the Black Watch. If they have the good luck to be saved, after all, a brief newspaper paragraph will announce the fact—perhaps. But if they are really all drowned, nothing more will ever be said about them. Except, of course, in their families—their names will be mentioned there, occasionally, in accents more or less despairing.

And yet human carelessness is responsible for whatever evil has befallen those men. Their lives have been flung away that somebody might save a little money. And society stands by, saying nothing, doing nothing, caring nothing, and justifying itself with the blasphemous notion that God kills sailors or saves them according as he happens to feel in a good humor or otherwise, and it would be useless to try to interfere with him.

The Richmond papers of last week were enthusiastic over the number of northern millionaires visiting their city at the same time. They spoke with special pride of the presence of John Jacob Astor; John A. Stewart, of the United States Trust Co.; George Bliss, of Morton, Bliss & Co.; C. H. Coster, of Drexel, Morgan & Co.; J. C. Brown, of Brown Brothers & Co., and others; and congratulated the state of Virginia that she had at length succeeded in attracting the serious notice of the moneyed men of the country.

The reason why all these rich men went to Richmond was very simple. They believed that a tide of settlement and manufacturing enterprise was about to flow towards the line of the Chesapeake and Ohio railway, and they wanted to get ready for it. So they met in Richmond by agreement, and were going thence in a body, along the line of the railroad, to inspect and buy up, if they thought it would have a large area of mineral and other lands.

If a piratical fleet should make its appearance in the James river some fine day and exact from the citizens of Richmond security that they would hereafter and forever pay to the pirate chiefs, their heirs and assigns, a constantly increasing yearly tribute, as a reward for the mere privilege of being allowed to attend to their own business unmolested—if anything of this kind should happen, the Richmond journalists would be in a pretty state of distress and lamentation. But when a crowd of men come down there and simply secure the right of forcing other men to pay them tribute for the privilege of mining iron or digging coal, why that's a very different matter, and the Richmond journalists congratulate the people and prophesy great things. And yet Thomas Jefferson was a Virginian.

The English coal miners seem to have won all along the line, and that without any serious disturbance of production. They demanded an increase of ten per cent in their wages and they got it.

This was in England, where trade, if not absolutely free, is at least far less restricted than here in the United States. In this country, where industry wears fetters for its own protection, the last strike among the coal miners was against a reduction of wages. And the strike was unsuccessful.

The reason why the English mine operators yielded is worth noticing. It was because the moment they ceased producing coal began pouring in from Belgium and from Germany. In this country, when the miners refuse to work, the operators simply put up the price of coal and make the public pay the expense of the strike. It's different in free trade England. When coal goes up in price there the operators must either produce coal or allow foreigners to take possession of the market.

It is pleasing to note, too, that the spinners in the Dundee jute mills have secured an advance of five per cent in wages. The workers in American jute mills are being laid off, and getting no wages whatever. But then the jute industry in this country is protected. It makes a heap of difference, that protection.

There is one thing worth noting about the elevated railway condemnation proceedings; that is, the ease and certainty with which real estate experts estimate the effect of the roads on the value of adjacent lands. Expert George L. Curtis, testifying as to the damage done to the Renwick property by the spur of the elevated road running through Forty-second street to the Grand Central depot, said:

The Renwick land has a fronting of 83 feet. It is worth \$13,000 a lot, or a total of about \$5,000. The property on the land is worth possibly \$50,000 in addition. Had not the elevated railroad been built the land would be a worth a total of about \$76,000, and the buildings would be of a greater rental value than they are now, though their worth would probably be the same.

And yet men like Edward Atkinson affect to doubt the possibility of determining, for purposes of taxation, the value of bare land, irrespective of improvements.

The annual dinner of the New York chamber of commerce on Tuesday evening last was enlivened by a speech from General W. T. Sherman. It was not, and clearly was not intended to be, a great speech. There was no effort of oratory, no spreading of the eagle's wings, no soaring into the dizzy region of metaphor. It was a plain straightforward talk, in which the speaker told his honest thought, in matter of fact language. And for this very reason it is worth a word or two of comment. For General Sherman, apart from his military pre-eminence, is a fair representative of the average citizen of intelligence, and whatever confusions of thought may appear in his remarks are typical, we may be very sure, of similar confusions in the minds of thousands of other men.

The general began by expressing the pleasure it gave him "to come into the presence of the merchants of New York." "All who profess to love their country,"

said the general, "honor the merchants who take in the whole universe, who bring here the things we need, and send forth the things we can dispense with."

Then he went on to sing the praises of our country. "It is," he said, "a big piece of territory."

The country which we possess to-day, every foot of which was acquired by an honest title as any gentleman has to his estate, is a land to be proud of. We have now 3,700,000 square miles of land, and that is all we need. While Belgium has 400 and England 200 or 300, we have less than ten people to the square mile. You could take the people of these thickly settled European countries and put them in the Mississippi valley, where they could all be supported with no perceptible drain on its resources. The capabilities of the country are almost unlimited. Three hundred million people could easily live on the land the United States now possesses. Out of this land come the fruit and flowers which give us life and prosperity.

And then the good old man went on to say how glad he was that Harrison had been elected.

It is only when you pull a speech like this to pieces that you begin to see how utterly incongruous are its different parts. Think of congratulating New York merchants on their trade with foreign countries, and in the next breath rejoicing that the policy of the government is to be the extinction of that trade. Think of boasting of the capacity of the country to support without difficulty five times its present population, and then sympathizing with the party whose constant cry is that this country is so poor, and its inhabitants so weak and un inventive, that there is really danger of everybody starving.

General Sherman is not to be blamed for all this. He has simply never thought of these matters. And there are tens of thousands of men just like him. But the time is coming when both he and they will have to think.

Certain fish dealers of the east have set up a little protective dodge of their own with marked success. About three years ago an enterprising Yankee shipped a cargo of halibut from Tacoma, Washington territory, which arrived here in good condition and was sold away below the prevailing prices. That was good for people who wanted to eat fish; but the associated dealers didn't like it, and in Gloucester a public meeting was held to take measures for the protection of Gloucester's infant halibut industry. If Tacoma had been in England or Canada, or any other country of pauper labor, it would have been an easy matter to put high tariffs on halibut in the interest of American workingmen. But Tacoma wasn't in England. It was in the United States, and in point of pauper labor no worse off than Gloucester or New York. Indeed, it was a place of pretty high wages, as wages go, and yet it was shipping cheap fish to us. This was so pernicious to the industries of the east that a committee was sent from Gloucester to Tacoma to prevent further shipments.

How the committee did it is not yet known, but certain it is they have succeeded in protecting us against the low priced halibut of Tacoma, and, accordingly, for the benefit of the eastern halibut trust, we are paying dear for our fish.

There is in the United States navy a lieutenant of the name of Jacob J. Hunter, whose pernicious activity as a free trader should be vigorously denounced.

It has been customary for many years to dump garbage in the channel of New York harbor. To any but a free trader whose intellect has been distorted by studying maxims instead of markets, the beneficial effect of this custom must be apparent. Its tendency is to interfere with the free entry into our port of ocean steamers loaded with the products of the country by simply putting up the price on all grades of carpets. But notwithstanding the protectionist theory, the six hundred men "laid off" by Higgins will not share in these protection benefits.

The coal business has also felt the impulse in ways that are peculiar. A dispatch from Pottsville, Pa., of November 17 says:

Work has been commenced on the four new collieries that the Philadelphia and Reading coal and iron company will open, which will increase the annual production of coal by at least 1,000,000 tons. The new operations will cost about \$75,000, and will be completed and in working order toward the end of next year.

A liberal profit of twenty per cent on that investment would amount to \$150,000.

The present value of the million tons of coal to be mined (the price of which was recently increased about twenty per cent) would be about \$6,000,000.

The amount that would be paid the miner for digging that quantity of coal at forty-nine cents per ton would be \$490,000.

The little balance of \$5,260,000 unaccounted for in the above items, goes, of course, to increase the general wealth of the country.

The same dispatch quoted above also informs us that the Philadelphia and Reading coal and iron company will continue mining on full time until the end of the month, when the collieries will be put on three-fourths time, the object being to limit the output of coal and keep up prices. Other collieries are expected to follow the example.

That this laudable custom of dumping garbage in the channel has not yet obstructed navigation or bred disease sufficiently to produce the benefits to American industry, of which it is capable, is because the federal government, under an administration which, if not inoculated with free trade heresies, is at least indifferent to protection, has cleaned out the garbage almost as fast as it was dumped.

And now this free trader, Lieutenant Hunter, has not only issued a proclamation forbidding dumping in the harbor, but he is organizing a kind of harbor naval squadron to see that his proclamation is obeyed. To be sure, the time within which he can do harm is short, for a protection administration is to be inaugurated on March 4 next; but his conduct, though it fits the tendency of the free trade tendency, harmonizes with our own views, is a wanton rebuke to the declared policy of the president-elect, and therefore, to say the least, in exceedingly bad taste.

The Campaign Fund.

Contributions to the campaign STANDARD not previously acknowledged have been:

Michael Carroll, New York.....\$1
Charles F. Smith, Colton, Cal.....50
Thos. W. Roberts, New York.....25

Previously acknowledged.....\$750 50
Total to date.....\$750 50

The Tide of Poverty.
The tide of poverty is rising! stealthily it creeps along.
With no fury or commotion;
Silenst as a summer ocean.
Upward steals this deadly wrong.
As men look for stir and tumult when a blight invades the land,
Little reck they in their revel
Of a dread relentless evil.
That no cunning can withstand.
Hear them prate of power and riches and a progress great and high,
When a peasantry is making,
And a favored guild is taking
Freedom's blood that she may die.

The tide of poverty is rising! there are watchers on the height
Who are signaling the nation
Of the coming devastation.
Yet but few can see the light:

Some are wrapped in schemes and passion and cold reason holds them not;
Some are myrons—not observers,
Dopes, or partisan time servers,
Well contented with the lot.

That makes them underlings or toadies, moral bawds and panders,
Like those old masters of derision,
"Out with Noah and his vision,"
Gibe they, carcass of the curse.

The tide of poverty is rising; and a vague unrestfulness
Seizes those who stand the highest.
To this crawling flood, where highest
Climbs the doom they dimly guess.

All below is dark with falsehood; filth and famine there hold sway;

Ignorant degradation,
Crime and sorrow, swarm the day.

Hope's phantasma flits a moment o'er the flagon's mounting brim,

Only to depress and sadden

Stricken souls that sought shall gladden
Till their light of life grows dim.

The tide of poverty is rising; and the yelping demagogue,
Quack in all and knave by nature.

Plots in every legislature

Each fair measure to besog;

Winking at the rich oppressor, super-sanctimonious;

All of self-savor

As he proffers favor-favors;

Trivial sops to Cerberus.

How he schemes to break the virtue of the mass by treachery,

Pitting brother against brother;

Stringing one to bribe another;

Such is prince of hell he is.

The tide of poverty is rising! Shall it upward creep until

All the gifts of the Creator

In the clutch of one dictator

Leave his greed insatiate still?

Shall our mortal whilms and passions sway

the world as swings a reed?

No! The struggle is before us;

Liberty her standard o'er us

Waves, and honor gives us heed.

High Omnipotence upholds us and enfolds us to offend;

Love of truth and justice fires us,

Impulse of the right inspires us;

And we battle to the end.

WILLIAM WALSTEIN GORDAK,
North Scituate, Mass.

Secretary Single Tax League.

PERSONAL.

The London *Democrat* says: "Lord Hobhouse's year of office as president of the 'united committee for the taxation of ground rents and values' having expired, the executive committee have unanimously resolved, on the motion of his lordship, seconded by Mr. J. F. Torr, to request Mr. William Saunders to accept the nomination for president for the forthcoming year.

Michael Flurschein, the editor of *Deutsch Land* and leader of the land restoration movement in Germany, is about to turn his business into a limited company, in order to "retire and devote the rest of his life to land reform." The business referred to is his extensive iron foundry at Gaggenau near Baden-Baden, where he has hitherto employed some 1,000 hands.

W. J. Atkinson of Philadelphia writes that the single tax men there have their spurs strapped on for another campaign. Their first important move will be in the direction of the

ONE OF THE MANY!

Curtis Yorke in Temple Bar.

They had been married for rather more than a year—Jim Carroll and his pretty little wife—and their baby daughter was two months old.

He was a fine fellow, was Jim—well set up, and good to look at; chivalrous, upright and honest as the day; but though he came of a good old stock—which he was the last—he was only a clerk in a London architect's office, with a miserable salary of £120 a year, which, of course, he might lose with his situation any day. It will be clear, I hope, to the meanest understanding that under these circumstances he had not the smallest right to think of matrimony. So when he had the audacity to propose for Marjory Linton—niece and ward of the pompous and wealthy old Joseph Linton of Manchester—that gentleman gave him a very short shrift, and promptly showed him the door. And when, a month later, pretty, independent Marjory ran away with this same handsome, impudent Jim Carroll, her irate uncle—to use his own expression—"washed his hands of her, and closed his doors against her and her husband for ever." At this terrible sentence Marjory did not trouble herself very much; nor did her husband suffer it to affect his peace of mind. He was too happy to care whether all the rich old men in Europe closed their doors against him—or otherwise.

They lived in a tiny house in a red brick, pointed gabled terrace at Chancery-lane, and they had enough to do to pay the rent and to make ends meet generally, especially after the baby came; but they loved each other passionately, and that made things easier. Marjory was the most sunny-hearted and hopeful of little women, and she was quite sure that some day Dornon & Cox—awaking to a sense of Jim's abilities—would take him into partnership and make his fortune.

But, alas! for Marjory's dreams, on the particular evening on which this story opens, Carroll was wading his way homewards dejectedly enough, for Dornon & Cox, having had heavy losses lately, were reducing their staff of clerks, and among those dismissed to-day was James Carroll. Jim felt stunned and bewildered, for situations were not as plentiful as blackberries in London in 1881 any more than they are now.

"O Jim, how late you are!" cried little Mrs. Carroll, as she flew to the door to meet her husband. "I thought you were never coming! I had to put baby to bed, at last."

"Had you, dear?" he answered absentmindedly, as he followed her into the small but cosy sitting room.

He looked depressed and out of sorts. Marjory thought. Perhaps he had one of his bad headaches. But like a wise little wife she asked no questions, only poured out his tea and gave him his slippers. He did not eat anything, she noticed, but sent up his cup to be filled again and again, draining it each time feverishly.

He was very silent, too.

"Is anything the matter, dear?" his wife said at last in anxious tones.

"Yes, Marjory," he answered with an effort. Then, after a pause, he told her.

For a moment her sunny face was clouded; this was a contingency which she had never contemplated. Then she said bravely:

"Never mind, Jim. It will not be difficult for you to get another situation. I see scores of advertisements in the papers every day."

But Carroll was not so sanguine. He was of a more gloomy temperament than Marjory, and would not be cheered, not even when baby woke up, and smiled and cooed in his face, as was her wont.

"You see, Jim," said Marjory cheerfully, "we have still a good part left of your last salary. It is not quarter-day yet for a good while; and we can economize in little things. We might let Ann go" (Ann was the small maid-of-all-work), "she is really getting very careless; she broke three plates yesterday. If I have a charwoman to come in on Saturdays, I can easily manage the work myself. Baby is so good, and requires so little attention."

Jim put his arm round her as she knelt beside him.

"Dear little woman," he said, "I couldn't let you do that. Not yet, at least."

They studied the paper diligently day after day. Carroll answered innumerable advertisements, both by post and personally, but in vain; though he spent an alarming sum in postage stamps, and returned night after night, weary, heart-sick and footsore.

The days went on; quarter-day drew near, and passed; and the Carrolls' little store of money melted away. For the baby had been ill; and several tradesmen's bills, small but imperative, had had to be paid. The weather was oppressively hot and enervating and Marjorie's little face began to look pinched and worn; for the baby was peevish and fretful, requiring constant nursing and attention; and the servant had been dismissed sometime ago.

At other week passed. Jim felt almost desperate, for he could obtain no employment; and to make matters worse the baby fell ill again. It seemed a kind of wasting, nameless illness. She cried and wailed night and day, and grew almost hourly more shadowy-looking. The doctor whom Carroll at last called in shook his head, asked a few questions, advised change of air and ordered the young mother to take "plenty of nourishing food." With a view to furthering the latter object—change of air being out of the question—Jim pawned his watch and chain. Poor fellow, he felt shamed and embarrassed enough as he took the ticket and buttoned his coat over his now chainless waistcoat. But the money so obtained kept them going for some little time; and Carroll, meanwhile, did not for a day relax his efforts to obtain employment. He searched with anxious diligence in each evening's paper the column devoted to "vacant situations," and answered various advertisements which seemed singularly suitable. But those who have studied that column—not for amusement or curiosity, but for dear life

—know that of these advertisements only too many are simply swindles, and that the comparatively few which are bona-fide are speedily secured by those who have either the influence or the experience which Jim Carroll had not. He set off every morning for the city, neglected no opportunity, left no stone unturned, but in vain.

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pretty, independent Marjory ran away with this same handsome, impudent Jim Carroll, her irate uncle—to use his own expression—"washed his hands of her, and closed his doors against her and her husband for ever."

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"Poor little thing!" he said, sadly and brokenly. "God knows what she is spared!"

There was a silence, for Marjory could not speak. The rain dropped on the window sill outside; the wind shook the casement and moaned in the chimney. Then, with a quick, dry sob, Carroll took his wife in his arms and they mingled their tears together.

A few days more passed and the baby was buried. Even that was a struggle to the poverty-stricken father and mother.

It was wonderful how they missed the tiny thing—they for so short a time—her funny, winning baby ways, and even her fretful, peevish cries. To Marjory, during the long weeks when her husband was absent, the house seemed horribly, unnaturally still and desolate.

The weather was wet and chilly, and Jim caught a cold which ended in a sharp attack of bronchitis, and left him more spiritless and haggard looking than ever. So the autumn dragged on.

At last—one dreadful day, when even Marjory broke down and when Jim looked so weak and ill as he set off on his weary and fruitless quest for work that it almost broke his wife's heart to see him—at last, privately, and with many pangs of humbled pride, Mrs. Carroll wrote her uncle. She did not tell her husband, for she knew that if she did nothing would induce him to let the letter go. The answer came soon enough; and it so chance that Carroll met the postman at the door and took the letter from him. He gave it to his wife, and waited while she read it; then, seeing her face blanch, took it from her trembling hands, and with compressed lips glanced at the few words it contained. It was short and to the point:

"I ought to have," returned Carroll dryly, "seeing I have been a clerk in an architect's office for the last three years."

"Ah, yes, to be sure. Well, I know designs are wanted for a new hospital somewhere near Manchester. The premium is a hundred pounds. Now—"

"For God's sake, tell me," interrupted the other eagerly and hoarsely, "do you think I have any chance?"

"Well," said Lyle, "I was going to have a try. My father has an idea I ought to distinguish myself in that line; but I am an awful duffer on plans—always was. So if you care to go in for it—it's a godsend premium—it might be worth your while."

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At other week passed. Jim felt almost desperate, for he could obtain no employment; and to make matters worse the baby fell ill again. It seemed a kind of wasting, nameless illness. She cried and wailed night and day, and grew almost hourly more shadowy-looking. The doctor whom Carroll at last called in shook his head, asked a few questions, advised change of air and ordered the young mother to take "plenty of nourishing food." With a view to furthering the latter object—change of air being out of the question—Jim pawned his watch and chain. Poor fellow, he felt shamed and embarrassed enough as he took the ticket and buttoned his coat over his now chainless waistcoat. But the money so obtained kept them going for some little time; and Carroll, meanwhile, did not for a day relax his efforts to obtain employment. He searched with anxious diligence in each evening's paper the column devoted to "vacant situations," and answered various advertisements which seemed singularly suitable. But those who have studied that column—not for amusement or curiosity, but for dear life

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At last the drawing was finished. Carroll signed it "Isola, care of A. Lyle, esq.," as his friend had suggested. Marjory thought it beautiful, and had no doubt of its being successful; but Carroll was not so sanguine. However, he sent it off at once; and Marjory already began to calculate how long a time must elapse before its fate would be decided.

It was weary waiting, though; and to Jim—ay, and to Marjory too—the once dreaded pawnshop became sadly and painfully familiar. Meanwhile their baby was slowly but surely fading away from them.

One afternoon Carroll returned somewhat earlier than usual from the city, whether he had been in answer to some living will-o'-the-wisp advertisement. It was a dull, wet day; and as her turned up the narrow street which led to his home, his heart sank with a curious, undefined dread. They had been up with the baby all night, but she had seemed better and brighter when Jim left in the morning.

Marjory met him, as she always did, at the door. At a glance his fears were quenched.

"What is it?" he said hastily. "The child—is she worse?"

"Jin," she answered, looking up at him with dry, grief-stricken eyes, "Jin—baby is dead!"

He followed her silently to the room where the tiny creature, with waxen features so like his own, lay cold and still and smiling.

"When?" he asked in a choked voice. "Just three hours ago," she replied monotonously.

Carroll stood looking down on all that was left to him of his baby daughter and smoothed the short, fluffy hair with a strange, wistful look in his dark, sunken eyes.

"Poor little thing!" he said, sadly and brokenly. "God knows what she is spared!"

There was a silence, for Marjory could not speak. The rain dropped on the window sill outside; the wind shook the casement and moaned in the chimney. Then, with a quick, dry sob, Carroll took his wife in his arms and they mingled their tears together.

"Poor little thing!" he said, softly and brokenly. "God knows what she is spared!"

Then there was a long silence, broken at last by Marjory's voice in anxious tones—

"You have eaten nothing to-day, Jim. I am quite sure; and you are quite faint and worn out."

"My darling, I could not eat," he answered wearily, raising his head and leaning back in his chair. (There were only two chairs in the room now, and very little else.)

Marjory's soft brown eyes filled again with tears; but she resolutely winked them away, and said, trying to smile: "We will make up for lost time, and have some supper. Then things will look brighter. I have an idea, do you know, that our luck is going to take a turn."

Jim smiled faintly; his eye pointed in a diametrically opposite direction.

"And therefore," Marjory went on, with a gayety the more touching to Jim because he knew it was assumed for his sake, "we will go out and buy something for supper, my dear Jin." A great fellow like Jim could not possibly live on bread and tea—and not much of that—as you have been doing. Now I wonder—looking round the room meditatively—if there is nothing more we can put away?" (They always called it "putting away.")

"Jim!" she whispered.

No answer. He was evidently asleep.

At last he let her go, and went away.

She heard him go up stairs, and his footsteps echo in the room above.

Marjory sat at the window for a long time, and watched the stars grow brighter and clearer in the soft, dark sky. Somewhere in the distance a street organ was wailing out an old, hackneyed waltz tune. It stirred her heart strangely. She remembered dancing that waltz with Jim, so very, very long ago—it seemed long ago, like everything else that was bright and hopeful. Even Marjory's brave little heart was heavy to-night. What would become of them, she wondered. God only knew.

The clock on the neighboring church tower boomed out on the night air, and as the last stroke died away there was a sharp knock at the door. It was the postman. Marjory took the one letter he held out to her, and closing the door, she went back to the sitting room. With trembling fingers she lighted the candle, and examined the envelope eagerly. Yes—it was Mr. Lyle's handwriting! Marjory recognized it without difficulty, for it was a peculiar hand. With a beating heart she stole softly upstairs—she did not take the candle, for fear of waking Jim, should he be asleep—and peeped into the bedroom. All was still. In the pale starlight she could just make out the dim outline of his figure on the bed.

"Jim!" she whispered.

No answer. He was evidently asleep.

At last she tried to wake him, she thought; and perhaps, after all, the letter held bad news. She softly laid a shawl over him in the semi-darkness and crept down stairs again.

After looking at the fatal envelope for some time, she slowly opened it. She could not wait; and she knew Jim would not mind. In another moment she uttered a little glad, involuntary cry, and then she was in a joyful, half-incredulous smile. Could it be possible? Yes, Jim's design had been selected as the best; the premium would be his! And this was not the only good news the letter contained; for Lyle went on to say that he had heard of a vacant appointment, which he thought he could—through his father's influence—secure for Carroll.

Marjory hid her face in her hands; for a moment the revulsion of feeling was almost too much. Then she fell upon her knees. But she could only say, "Thank God! Thank God!"

At the stormy season on the North Atlantic approaches, the hydrographic office at Washington again reminds navigators, in a note on the November pilot chart, of the great advantage to be derived from the use of oil to prevent heavy seas from breaking on board. The forcing of the attention of mariners to this subject, so that now no careful master of a vessel goes to sea without providing for the use of oil in storms, has been one of the most important results of the work of the hydrographic office.—(Science).

Claus Spreckels is running his new sugar factory at Watsonville, Cal., day and night. He gives personal supervision to all details, and instructs the hands in the new process, with which they are unfamiliar. The beets have proved very satisfactory, as regards quantity and quality, and many farmers are receiving \$8 per ton, whereas only \$4 was guaranteed. Spreckels will probably establish several other refineries in different parts of the state.

Among the products which science has put to valuable service is the nettle, a weed which is now even being cultivated in some parts of Europe, its fiber proving useful for a variety of textile fabrics. In Dresden a thread is produced from it so fine that a length of sixty miles weighs only 2½ pounds.

A correspondent of the *Electrical World* says that the Detroit steel spring works have used petroleum for eighteen months under eight boilers of 55 horse power each, as well as in their furnaces for heating steel. The following figures refer only to the boilers, showing an average consumption of 21 tons of the best bituminous coal, over 100 tons, and were often short of steam. The coal cost \$2.80 per ton, and the labor, including removal of ashes, made the total expenditure per day (twenty-four hours) \$80.25. The consumption of petroleum for the same period of time is 70 barrels of 42 gallons each, at a cost of 55 cents per barrel, the total cost, including labor, being \$15.30 per day (twenty-four hours), a saving of \$34.90, equal to 41 per cent. They have an abundance of steam, and always under a constant pressure.

The successful tow of the big lumber raft from Nova Scotia to New York by Mr. Leary has started other men in the same line. The report is that a Colonel Donahue, of San Francisco, has given \$200,000 for the right to use the system of towing on the Pacific coast, and that active operations will be commenced immediately. It is also reported that a party of Boston capitalists who are building a railroad in Chile, are negotiating to have rafts delivered in Chile during the coming winter. In this connection we would allude to the report that Mr. Leary, the inventor of the lumber raft system, has stated that he will construct no more big rafts for ocean navigation, as the work of building and then breaking up such great rafts, to say nothing of transportation, creates an expense greater than that of handling the logs by vessels in the ordinary way.

QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

One More Unfortunate.

LOS ANGELES, Cal.—A farmer takes up 100 acres of land. In an occupation of twenty years he brings it to a high state of cultivation, erects expensive buildings and perfects a costly system of drainage. But the land becomes so valuable for residence or business purposes that he cannot pay the tax while using it as a farm. How would he be compensated for his improvements? Under existing laws the increased value would be satisfactory compensation.

W. H. STUART.

If the tax were too high to permit of profitable use for farming, it would be because the land yielded more to other uses. It would yield this to the farmer as well as to another, and he would have an advantage over all others in being actually located there. If he preferred to go elsewhere and farm, his advantage of possession would usually be worth enough to cover the value of his improvements. Suppose a gold mine were discovered on the farm. The farmer could stop farming and go to gold mining; but if he preferred farming he would measurably be able to select from all the people who would want to work the gold mine the ones who should work it, and in exercising this power of selection he would generally be able to get the value of his improvements.

But take the case at its very worst. That land should change its character so suddenly as to destroy the value of the occupier's improvements before he had got the average returns of capital from them, is impossible, but in actual experience it is frequent. Is it not better that in such infrequent cases the occupier should lose even all he had accumulated than that the whole community should continue to be enslaved by landlordism? It would be cheaper to compensate such occasional unfortunates out of the public treasury than to go on with a system which is founded in robbery and breeds poverty and crime.

LOUIS F. POST.

Why England Is Getting Richer.

CANON CITY, Col.—In recently issued press essay on the cause of depression in trade, the statement is made that in the last forty years England has imported sixteen hundred million pounds sterling more than she exported, and yet the wealth of England has increased all the while. Is the statement correct, and if so, how do you explain it?

From what figures are at hand I should think the excess of imports over exports was under stated rather than over stated, and the wealth of England has steadily and enormously increased in the same period. The explanation of the excess of imports is that Englishmen own farms and mines and city lots and mortgages and railroad stocks and government bonds of other countries, and they get from those other countries all sorts of produce, from beef to bullion, in payment of interest and rent on their investments, and do not send back anything in return.

Of course England gets richer and richer under these conditions. If you give a man your watch and he gives you back as good a watch and a chain in addition because his grandfather mortgaged his property to your grandfather, you will be richer, won't you?

The Farmer Again.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.—Is it right that a farmer owning fifty acres of land having on it improvements worth \$2,000, and from which he makes \$100 yearly, should pay as much tax as, say, a fruit canning company should pay on the same number of acres on which they have a factory and other improvements worth \$50,000, from which they derive an annual income say of \$10,000? W. M. BATE.

One more question: Which do you think the farmers of that neighborhood would prefer, that a canning company which would buy all their fruit at the highest figure (for there would be no freights to deduct) should locate on the fifty acres, or that the canning company should go to the city and let the fifty acres go into the hands of some other farmer who would simply compete with those already located there? Surely they would prefer the canning company. If so, then why should the farmers want to tax the canning company any heavier than they would tax the new farmer? Shouldn't they rather tax the company less if anything? Or wouldn't it be better yet to stop taxing everybody, farmers and manufacturers and all, on what improvements they make and simply tax them on the value of the natural opportunities they monopolize? The vast majority of small farmers would pay less taxes than they do at present if taxes were levied on the value of the bare land exclusive of improvements such as fences, trees, houses, stock, household goods, crops, etc., while the owners of vast tracts where the improvements are less in value than the bare land, as well as the land speculators in city and country, and rich mine owners, would all be taxed more heavily than at present.

About Coffee.

WEST POINT, N. Y.—Please inform me of the reason why and how a coffee trust has been formed, and if taking the tariff off has any thing to do with the forming of this trust; also from what countries we mostly import coffee, and whether those countries impose an export tax on what is shipped to us. J. F. ZAJICEK.

What you probably refer to is temporary "corner" in coffee that has been manipulated by some of the big firms in the coffee exchange. There is no coffee trust. The tariff had nothing to do with the corner.

We import most of our coffee from Brazil which levies an export tax on it or did until very recently. Brazilian coffee growers and merchants pay the tax, because if they tried to add it to the price here the coffee from Java and elsewhere would drive Brazilian coffee, to a large extent at least, out of the market.

On Cotton Manufactures.

NEW YORK.—Your answer to a correspondent in the issue of November 10 does not give all the reasons why, with free raw cotton and the cheapest labor in the world, we do not more largely export cotton goods. It is not alone that buildings, machinery and coal all cost more here than in other countries, nor that the restrictive influence of a protective

system has stunted the enterprise of our manufacturers. The chief burden under which they lie is the duty on dyestuffs and bleaching powders, all of which are protected, and being mineral products, are enhanced in value up to the full limit of the tariff—for the benefit, of course, of the men who own the mineral deposits from which they are derived. In white cottons we can more nearly compete with England than in colored goods; and in unbleached cottons we have no trouble at all to compete—our exports being chiefly that of Ireland.

In certain classes of goods, sent mostly to China, India and the African coast, English cotton factors have a further advantage in having established a demand for a cheap quality of goods, that consist mostly of "sizing." These are not made to any great extent by our mills, partly because they have not got into the way of it, and partly because the clay used for sizing (on which there is a tariff duty) costs more in this country than abroad.

EDWARD J. SHREVER.

You overestimate the weight of the burden which the duty on chemicals and dye stuffs lays on our manufacturers.

In 1880 we manufactured pure cotton goods (containing no wool or other textiles) which were valued at \$192,000,000. Admitting that this valuation was too high, that the manufacturers took advantage of the tariff and raised it say \$12,000,000, then the goods were worth \$180,000,000. Now, the cost of the materials used in manufacturing those goods was \$102,206,000, of which \$86,945,000 was for cotton, leaving \$15,251,000 for other materials. Now, supposing that almost all of this \$15,251,000 is for chemicals and dye stuffs (the census gives no information on this point, but certainly that allowance is much higher than the facts would justify)—suppose that \$14,000,000 of it was for this class of material. Then, if it was all imported and was all taxed the average duty on dutiable chemicals and dye stuffs, namely, 35 per cent, and allowing that none of it was on the free list, this \$14,000,000 represents \$10,370,000 original cost abroad and \$3,670,000 duty. This \$3,670,000 then was the "chief burden" on our cotton goods manufacturers. Well, \$3,670,000 is a little bit more than two per cent of the value of the goods. Is it possible that this was what prevented us from exporting cotton goods?

You say that "in white cottons we can more nearly compete with England than in colored goods, and in unbleached cottons we have no trouble at all to compete—our exports being chiefly that of Ireland." As regards this, the report of the secretary of the treasury shows that in 1887 we exported \$13,000,000 worth of cotton cloths, of which \$4,000,000 were colored goods and \$9,000,000 white goods bleached and unbleached. Allowing that only \$2,500,000 of the \$9,000,000 white goods were bleached, then we exported \$6,500,000 of printed and bleached and \$6,500,000 of unbleached. That does not look as if we can export unbleached goods so very much easier than we can bleach and colored goods, because of the duty on chemicals and bleaching powders.

The small working farmer whose interests are those of an improver rather than a land owner, is heavily taxed as compared with the owner of a large farm where the improvements are proportionately much less. The risk of a failure in crops being also proportionately greater with the small farmer, for he has fewer crops, he is only too ready to sell out to the large farmer or the speculator and go to a city. Furthermore, the farmer's customers are prevented from employing themselves by the holding of city and mining land on speculation, and the demands for farm products, which come from the masses of the people who spend almost their whole income, are cut down, while only the demands of a few rich men who spend but a small fraction of their incomes are increased.

Add to this the increased cost of all the implements and household effects which the farmers buy, caused by taxation, and the railroad discriminations in freight charges in favor of large shippers of grain and stock and in favor of the merchants in the great cities, as against small farmers and merchants in small towns, and some light is thrown on the depopulation of the country districts and the glutting of the larger cities.

(4) Taxing land to its full rental value would destroy its selling value; it would moreover make every man anxious to give up all except what land he could use to its fullest capacity. Hence it would be unnecessary for men to go to the outskirts of society to get moderate sized farms, and they would only have to pay for the improvements, not for the bare land. The vacant land around cities would be built upon and used, and, indeed, the tendency everywhere would be for population to spread more evenly, and bring the farmer and his customer nearer together.

(5) The good homesteading land is practically all gone to-day unless some of the recently forfeited railroad grants afford a new supply. Even if there were considerable left that would not explain the phenomena of half used or idle farming and building lands in our older states.

In this connection read the article entitled "Little Homes and Little Farms" in THE STANDARD of September 29.

The Drawback Law and a Word About It.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.—Eighty years ago Ireland was one of the greatest manufacturing countries in the world. Now, if free trade is such a good thing, why is it that she has no manufacturing industries to day, and is in a state of extreme degradation and poverty?

Why has she not remained one of the greatest manufacturing countries in the world and reached a state of extreme opulence and wealth?

S. D. GUYON.

Are you sure of your facts? Thomas G. Shearman says that "the number of persons engaged in manufacturing industries in Ireland has increased more than 100 per cent since the introduction of free trade," and "the linen manufacture in Ireland amounts to more than that of all the rest of Europe. More than 60,000 people are now engaged in the manufacture of linen in Ireland, whereas before the introduction of free trade no more than 25,000 were so engaged. More persons are now engaged in the Irish linen factories than were ever before engaged in all other factories in Ireland."

If all the products of a country except what will barely keep the people alive, are continually drained out of it, if it exports a very great deal more than it imports, that country, according to the protectionist theory, ought to be prosperous. But that is just the case of Ire-

land, and Ireland as a whole is so far from prosperity that the people have been emigrating to other countries. Now according to the protectionists, a country, to be ruined by free trade, must import more than it exports, hence, by their own reasoning, we have to draw the conclusion that free trade did not ruin Ireland. And if free trade did not, then it will probably be fair to conclude that landlords did. Not freedom and fair exchange, but legalized robbery ruined Ireland.

Restoring the Equilibrium.

Chicago Herald.

Lord Salisbury is confident he has restored the financial equilibrium of Egypt. The financial equilibrium of Egypt is like the physical equilibrium of Sam Patch. It is like the mechanical equilibrium of the Central Pacific road. It is like the financial equilibrium of Chicago savings bank of 1873 or 1877, when the landlord sued the receiver to see who should get the office furniture, the cabinet maker meanwhile getting nothing at all. Egypt is an orange that all the natives have squeezed. Egypt is a pauper, made so by the robbery of all religions and all forms of government. In 1882 its financial equilibrium was restored by bombardment and the burning of Alexandria.

As to the nails, the duty on a 100 pound keg would be \$1.25, but the price of a 100 pound keg here is not (on the average) \$1.75 but \$2.75.

W. B. SCOTT.

excepting by a very few concerns the drawback law, as it is called, is not and cannot be taken advantage of. Red tape, fees, etc., render it null.

As to the nails, the duty on a 100 pound keg would be \$1.25, but the price of a 100 pound keg here is not (on the average) \$1.75 but \$2.75.

W. B. SCOTT.

Progress and Poverty.

WHO TAKES THE PRIZE?



The above illustration gives only the outlines of a picture which looks to be one of the most popular we have ever issued. It is one of our latest publications, and has all the charm of novelty. It is call-a-tale.

PRIZE BABIES

and represents a baby judging upon the respective merits of a row of the most bewitching little babies that the suns of six months have shone upon. The face of the sweetest judge is clothed in doubt, and well for her, for she is a true collector of ideal darlings who have seen before.

The colors are exquisitely soft and tender, and the expression of the baby faces run the whole gamut of delight and wonder, and is a picture which would appeal to every mother, because it is altogether an admirable selection for a Christmas gift.

The picure comes mounted with a wide mat of two styles, one plain and one on which hand decorations are daisies on meadow grass. Size, ready for framing. Price, 50 cents.

Come this latest and most attractive picture can be found at any leading stationers. Ask for Prang's "Prize Babies." We will supply them by mail, if not found in stores, post paid on receipt of price, viz.: In plain mat, \$1; in damask mat, \$2.

We will also call the attention of mothers and fathers to our

NON-POISONOUS COLORS

for the use of children learning to paint.

These paints represent all the safest colors and can be given to even the youngest children without any danger. They come mounted upon heat, upon picture frames, and are specially prepared for us in the most convenient manner possible. Price, 10 cents each. We will supply them in boxes, and will send sample sizes, 10 cents each.

One box contains six colors with brush, 15 cents.

One box contains nine colors with brush, 15 cents.

One box contains eight colors and brush, 25 cents.

One box contains twelve colors and two brushes, 35 cents.

One box No. 3 contains eight colors and brush, 35 cents.

One box No. 4 contains twelve colors and two brushes, 50 cents.

One box No. 5 contains twelve colors and brush, 55 cents.

One box No. 6 contains twelve colors and brush, 65 cents.

One box No. 7 contains twelve colors and brush, 75 cents.

One box No. 8 contains twelve colors and brush, 85 cents.

One box No. 9 contains twelve colors and brush, 95 cents.

One box No. 10 contains twelve colors and brush, 105 cents.

One box No. 11 contains twelve colors and brush, 115 cents.

One box No. 12 contains twelve colors and brush, 125 cents.

One box No. 13 contains twelve colors and brush, 135 cents.

One box No. 14 contains twelve colors and brush, 145 cents.

One box No. 15 contains twelve colors and brush, 155 cents.

One box No. 16 contains twelve colors and brush, 165 cents.

One box No. 17 contains twelve colors and brush, 175 cents.

One box No. 18 contains twelve colors and brush, 185 cents.

One box No. 19 contains twelve colors and brush, 195 cents.

One box No. 20 contains twelve colors and brush, 205 cents.

One box No. 21 contains twelve colors and brush, 215 cents.

One box No. 22 contains twelve colors and brush, 225 cents.

One box No. 23 contains twelve colors and brush, 235 cents.

One box No. 24 contains twelve colors and brush, 245 cents.

One box No. 25 contains twelve colors and brush, 255 cents.

One box No. 26 contains twelve colors and brush, 265 cents.

One box No. 27 contains twelve colors and brush, 275 cents.

One box No. 28 contains twelve colors and brush, 285 cents.

One box No. 29 contains twelve colors and brush, 295 cents.

One box No. 30 contains twelve colors and brush, 305 cents.

One box No. 31 contains twelve colors and brush, 315 cents.

One box No. 32 contains twelve colors and brush, 325 cents.

One box No. 33 contains twelve colors and brush, 335 cents.

One box No. 34 contains twelve colors and brush, 345 cents.

One box No. 35 contains twelve colors and brush, 355 cents.

One box No. 36 contains twelve colors and brush, 365 cents.

One box No. 37 contains twelve colors and brush, 375 cents.

One box No. 38 contains twelve colors and brush, 385 cents.

One box No. 39 contains twelve colors and brush, 395 cents.

One box No. 40 contains twelve colors and brush, 405 cents.

One box No. 41 contains twelve colors and brush,

CURRENT THOUGHT.

The opening article in the *Nineteenth Century* for November is a noteworthy one. It is nothing less than a protest, signed by several hundred of the best known men in England, "against the mischief to which the system of competitive examinations is running." The protest itself is followed by a series of articles by Max Mueller, Edward A. Freeman and Frederic Harrison, in which these distinguished men state briefly their special objections to the system they unite in denouncing.

Few people in this country have any idea of the portentous growth of the competitive examination system in Great Britain. It has developed an army of specialists—examiners, tutors, crammers and coaches—the object of whose being is to insure, not that certain men shall acquire a certain amount of knowledge, but that they shall be able to answer, at certain fixed times, the greatest possible number of questions. And it has brought into being a vastly larger army of men, who look upon study as a trade, to be pursued solely for the sake of its pecuniary rewards, and not by reason of any desire for knowledge. The boy at a public school crams for the competitive examination whose reward is a fellowship at the university. The university student crams for the competitive examination that may win him a scholarship. The graduate hastens to engage a coach for the competitive examination that may secure him a position in the civil service. As Frederic Harrison puts it:

A man going through the full school, college, and professional career now passes from ten to twenty of these examinations, at intervals perhaps of six months or a year. From

the age of ten till twenty-five he is forever in

presence of the mighty Mill. The Mill is to

him money, success, honor and bread and

better for life. Distinctions and prizes mean

money and honor. Success in examinations

means distinctions and prizes. And whatever

does not mean success in examinations is not

education. Parents, governments, schools,

colleges, universities, and departments com-

bine to stimulate the competitive examination

and the mark system. None quite like it; but

all keep up the tarantula dance—needs must

when the devil drives! The result is that the

Frankenstein monster of Examination is be-

coming the master of education. Students

and parents dare not waste time in study which

does not directly help towards success in the

test. One hears of the ordinary lad at school

or college, either an amusing himself because

he is not going in this year, or else as "work-

ing up very hard for his examination." He is

never simply studying, never acquiring knowl-

edge. He is losing all idea of study, except

as preparation for examination. He cannot

burden his memory with what will not pay;

and a subject which carries no "marks," or

very few marks, is almost tabooed. Books are

going out of fashion; it is only analyses, sum-

maries, and tables which are studied. But

published examination papers are the real

Bible of the student of to-day—*Nocturna ver-*

sanda attina.

It is against this system that the signers

of the protest uplift their voices; and it

must be owned that they speak with no

uncertain sound. "Alike," they say:

All in public elementary schools, in

schools of all grades and for all classes, and

at the universities, the same dangers are too

often showing themselves under different

forms. Children—as is so frequently insisted

on—are treated by a public department, by

managers and schoolmasters, as suitable in-

struments for curving government money;

young boys of the middle and richer classes

are often trained for scholarships, with as

little regard for the future as two-year-old

horses are trained for races; and young men

of real capability at the universities are led

to believe that the main purpose of educa-

tion is to enable them to win some great

money prize, or take some distinguished place

in an examination.

It is encouraging to see so large and

respectable a body of men and women

uniting to protest against a great and

growing social evil. Only, what are they

going to do about it? Doubtless the com-

petitive examination system is a mon-

strously bad thing. But it was invented

to take the place of a much worse system

—the shameless abuse of patronage in

the public service, and the strong ten-

dency of favoritism at the schools and

colleges. And if our English brethren

throw the competitive examinations over-

board, what are they going to put in their

place? In the schools and colleges, of course, the simple remedy may be

applied of abolishing the whole system of

scholarships, fellowships and other pecu-

nary rewards of successful study. But

the civil service cannot be swept out of

existence in any such fashion. And

whether the competitive examination

system be replaced with a pass examina-

tion system or no examination system

whatever, it is certain that the old patron-

age evil will assert itself just in propor-

tion as appointments are left to the dis-

cration of the appointing authority.

It does not seem to have occurred to

any of the signers of this remarkable

protest that the competitive examina-

tion system is only part of a much larger

evil—only a symptom of a wide spread-

ing disease. Scholarship in England is

being degraded into a mere money mak-

ing vocation, simply because more money

is becoming more and more every year, in England as in this country, the

serious business of life. A college fellow-

ship or a position in the civil service is an

absolute security against the miseries of

poverty; and to secure himself against

poverty, is nowadays a man's first duty.

And so it comes to pass that English

students scramble for college fellowships

just as English laborers scramble for the

privilege of work, or English paupers for

admission to an almshouse. And the

system which should secure the fittest

men for the British public service, results

in making public office a thing to be

struggled for like a championship belt.

STOREKEEPERS AND WAGES.

In THE STANDARD of November 10, when speaking of Helen Campbell's recent studies of European poverty, I quoted her assertion that the competition of women who are not compelled to work is an evil thing for those who have to depend on their labor for a living, and said:

The author of "Prisoners of Poverty" does not see the contradiction involved in her own sweeping condemnation. Why should it be a

bad thing for society that women, blessed with immunity from want, should devote their leisure time to producing, for low wages, things that other people want? If they produced them for nothing at all—gave them away to every applicant—would that be a still worse thing? According to Mrs. Campbell's argument it ought to be. It is not because a few women are content to work cheaply that other women are driven out of work. It is because women and men alike are forbidden to go to work unless they first find an employer.

A correspondent, "W. F. W." writes from Brooklyn to say that he considers this utterance far too sweeping. A distinction, according to him, should be drawn between the making of things for gratuitous distribution and the making of the same things for distribution by sale. He says:

If they made the goods for nothing, and distributed them gratuitously among the needy, the needy would be benefited; and honest working women are of that class. But suppose they made them for nothing, and gave them to the merchants, would not that be worse than for the working class? Certainly it would. For the needy would then have to pay the dealer the full market price for their goods, notwithstanding they got them for nothing.

There is an essential difference between working for charity and giving to the poor and working for low wages in competition with the poor. It is said that competition is the life of trade. Be that as it may, we know that it is the death of wages.

Who would be injured if a lot of well to do women should conclude to keep our retail stores supplied with some description of fancy work—say knitted hoods, for instance—absolutely without any charge, leaving the store keepers to make prices as they saw fit?

Certainly not the store keepers. They would sell more goods, and make more money by selling them than ever before. For they could afford to sell at vastly lower prices, and the pressure of competition would compel them to do so, even if they lacked the sense to understand their own interest. And the price of hoods being lowered, more people could afford to buy them, and more hoods would be sold.

Not female wageworkers as a class.

For it would certainly be a benefit to them to get their worsted hoods in return for less expenditure of labor than before.

But what about the women who had been making their living by knitting hoods? Wouldn't they be injured? Undoubtedly; just as men who make their living by building are injured when a house on fire doesn't burn down; or as they themselves are injured when spring succeeds to winter and knitted hoods are no longer worn. They would be injured; but the real cause of their injury wouldn't be that a few half idle women had taken to knitting hoods for nothing; but that they themselves were forbidden by society to do anything else but make hoods, to apply their labor to the opportunities of nature in any direction save the direction of knitting worsted.

The only persons who could truthfully say that any injustice was done them by this gratuitous hood making would be the well-to-do women who would be working without wages. And they would have the remedy in their own hands, since they could stop work at any moment they saw fit.

T. L. McCREADY.

nothing, is no reason why the men who complete the work of production should be denied their reward. If knitted hoods grew on bushes like blackberries the work of picking them and carrying them to the consumers would still have to be performed. And people in general would find it cheaper to pay men who made a business of hood picking to bring their hoods to them than to go and pick them for themselves. But the hood pickers in that case would be doing the very thing that W. F. W. thinks impolitic that the storekeepers should be allowed to do.

It is a truth of which thousands are unmindful, who think superficially upon economic subjects, that the process of production begins with the first application of labor to the raw material of nature, and ends only with the delivery of the product to the consumer. The laborers who plow the land, sow the seed and gather in the grain; the railroad hands who transport the wheat, the elevator men who store it, the seamen who transport it across the ocean, the millers who grind it into flour, the bakers who convert it into bread, the brokers who negotiate its sale, the merchants who buy and sell it, the bankers who provide the funds out of which each man receives pay for his work as soon as done, without waiting for the final sale of the completed product, the newspaper reporters who collect the statistics and quotations of the market; all these and others form an unbroken chain of producers whose labors are not finally completed until the loaves of bread are delivered by the bakers to the people who are to eat them. Each one of them, if he has done his work properly, has added something to the value of the product; and this added value, be it more or less, is the first measure of his wages. Each one of them, too, has increased the efficiency of his labor by the use of capital, and whether the capital employed was his own or the property of another, its owner is equally entitled to be paid for its use, according to the price fixed by open competition in the market.

It is unfortunately true that the members of this chain of producers do not receive the true measure of their wages. Some get vastly more than their proper earnings; some vastly less. But this is not to be remedied by putting the overpaid member out of existence, but by searching out and removing the causes which compel the underpaid members to accept less than their share. To do away with the store keeper would neither increase the earnings of the wealth producer, nor reduce prices to the wealth consumer. On the contrary, by hampering the process of production, it would lessen the employment of the former, and so reduce his wages; and it would in the same way increase prices to the latter.

It is not competition that is "the death of wages," but the prohibition of competition. It is not because too many men want work that wages are low, but because too many men are forbidden to go to work. The remedy for poverty must be sought in the abolition of restrictions, not in their increase. What industry needs is not regulation, nor fostering protection, but simply freedom.

LIVERPOOL, Oct. 21, 1888.

DEAR GRIFF: I think I told you in my last that I was filled for a lecture in Lower Beighton, Cheshire, under the patronage of Canon Duxter. Well it was a big success. Hall crowded to its utmost capacity. Any number of local magnates present, and some from a distance. Fortunately at 8 o'clock I stepped on to the platform, and without waiting to be introduced, drew the revolver I had bought for the occasion and fired at the ceiling. As you may suppose, a scene of wild confusion ensued. The ladies shrieked, and I believe one or two of them fainted.

"Don't get scared," I said as soon as I could make myself heard. "It is always the custom in America for a speaker to begin that way. It arrests the attention of the audience, besides letting 'em know he's heeled in order to resent interruptions. The subject to which I'm to shoot off my mouth to-night is 'Real Life in America,' and you bet, I'll give it you straight and not unload any gaff on you. Think often that I've had the chance to tot my buzzo before so fly a crowd, accented, I reckon, to considerably better lay-outs than my chin music, and I ain't no such sucker as to allow that any flapdoodle would go down with you. Not to any extent, by gosh! If I tried that racket on I guess I should give myself away real bad. I'll allow me perhaps to brace up before we get down to hard pan."

I paused a minute, and drawing a large flask from my hip pocket, took a drink amid loud applause from the audience.

"How charmingly natural! how delightfully unconventional, isn't he?" said a young lady who sat near the platform to an elder woman, probably her mother.

She is the real foundation of my correspondence. And if our English brethren throw the competitive examinations over-board, what are they going to put in their place? In the schools and colleges, of course, the simple remedy may be applied of abolishing the whole system of scholarships, fellowships and other pecuniary rewards of successful study. But the civil service cannot be swept out of existence in any such fashion. And whether the competitive examination system be replaced with a pass examina-

tion system or no examination system whatever, it is certain that the old patron-

age evil will assert itself just in proportion as appointments are left to the dis-

cration of the appointing authority.

It does not seem to have occurred to

any of the signers of this remarkable

protest that the competitive examina-